

Maclean's

Canada's Weekly Newsmagazine

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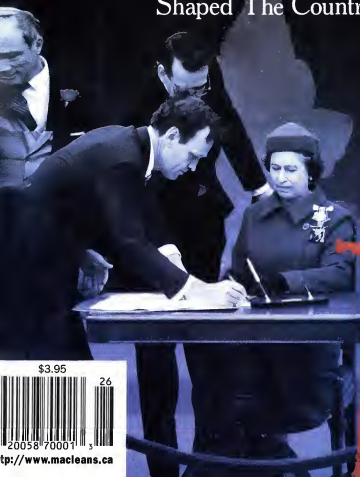
MARGARET ATWOOD
The Survival of
Canadian Literature

PETER GZOWSKI
The Future of
Canada's North

SPECIAL ISSUE

Canada's Century

The 25 Events That
Shaped The Country



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of Vimy Ridge
to the excitement
of Nunavut,
the nation came
of age in the
20th century



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In 1924, during the prestigious New York Auto Show, Walter P. Chrysler unveiled his new Chrysler Six in the lobby of New York's Commodore Hotel. And in a decade called the "Roaring Twenties," the first vehicle bearing the Chrysler name created quite a noise.

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These are the very same qualities that we honour today during Chrysler's Diamond Jubilee: expressive styling, refined engineering, athletic performance and value for your money.

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And you can see them in the new 300M, voted 1999 Motor Trend Car of the Year.

We're proud that these cars embody both the historic values of the Chrysler Brand, as well as industry leading engineering and design to take us into the 21st century.

We're equally proud that most of these cars are built right here in Canada. And as we celebrate this Canada Day, I invite you to visit our Chrysler retailers during our Chrysler Diamond Jubilee.

You'll see the latest expressions of the original tradition established in 1924 by Walter P. Chrysler: namely, our passionate commitment to leading-edge design, quality manufacturing and ownership experience of vehicles that are, quite simply stated, engineered to be great cars.



Ed Bruat

Ed Bruat

President and CEO
DaimlerChrysler Canada Inc.

From the
Editor

Canada is not boring because . . .

In the 1977 movie *Guernsey*, one character plots that "Canada is a country to square that even the female immigrants are women." Historians Eric Foner and Drew Mace once observed, "Canada was founded by the last we sign, after which things really slowed down."

Upon closer inspection, Canada is not as boring as some citizens imagine. Through wars and the Great Depression, from the Winnipeg General Strike to the War Measures Act, we are a nation forged with bloodshed and passion. We have had our glories, from Expo 67 to beating the Russians at hockey in 1972. And there have been the black hours, including discrimination against immigrants and women. The problem is not that we have no history; it is that we have too little memory.

This week's special Canada Day cover package explores 23 key events that shaped the modern history of Canada—a century that also embraces 94 years of *Maclean's*.

Some of the most telling passages in the cover package are eyewitness accounts of Canadians who literally saw



Queen Elizabeth in 1967: memories

history in the making. In the winter of 1917, the French passenger ship *Mont Blanc*, laden with TNT and bound for Europe, collided with a Belgian vessel in Halifax harbour, igniting an explosion that killed 1,600, injured 9,000 and devastated the area. Prime Minister Robert Borden, campaigning in F.R.I., where people heard the blast, described the scene when he arrived in Halifax: "Two miles away from the scene of the explosion, heavy doors were blown

from their hinges. The heavy gun on the *Mont Blanc* was hauled two miles into the woods beyond Dartmouth. Large telephone poles a mile away were snapped off like pine stems."

On a happy note, Canada's first big oilfield in Leduc, Alta., in February 1947, evoked beautiful comments: "One of the Imperial crew members recalled how 'with a roar the well came in, flowing into the pump near the rig. We switched it to the flare line, lit the fire and the most beautiful smoke ring you ever saw went floating skyward.'"

Some images of a history yet to be also explored in a special essay by author Margaret Atwood 27 years after her seminal survey, *Survival*, created a storm (page 54). *CanLit* is flourishing, in no small part because of Atwood and *Survival*. Both *CanLit* and *Survival* are a vivid reminder that a nation with a great history can look to the millennium with confidence and hope, mindful of its failures, secure in its many accomplishments. Happy birthday.

Robert Lewis



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Newroom

Notes

Canada's century

Maclean's celebrates Canada Day each year with a special issue highlighting some aspect of Canadian life or history. Last year, historian Jack Greenwood marked "The 100 Most Important Canadians in History." This year, Greenwood has teamed up with

his colleague Norman Hillmer of Carleton University to produce the 33-page cover package, starting on page 18, on "Canada's Century—The 25 Events that Shaped the Country." The two historians believe Sir Wilfrid Laurier was



Hillmer (left) and Greenwood, the best

persons when he produced the 20th century would belong to Canada. "Canadians changed from a tiny colony and population living in difficult conditions," they write, "to 30 million from all over the world who exist in peace in the best country on earth."

The cover package was organized and edited by Managing Editor Geoffrey Stevens and designed by Associate Art Director Givelle Sabourin. Associate Photo Director Kristine Ryall secured archives for illustrations, and Researcher-Reporter Michael MacLean checked the stats.



1998 Outstanding Nature Photographer of the Year, Art Wolfe,
on the wonders of 45-Point Area AF with 21-Zone Evaluative Metering:

"The shot was there
for less than an instant--
and EOS-3 nailed it!"



EOS-3 is winning the prize of peace and precision.

"It was no easy shot," explains Art Wolfe.
"Because the monkeys constantly change positions and expressions,
there's no time to focus and recompose. At the
ideal instant, I simply glanced to the left and fired!"
The EOS-3, armed with 45-Point Area AF,
Eye Controlled Focus and E-TTL Flash mode
nailed the shot.



Of EOS-3's vastly improved Eye Controlled Focus, Wolfe proclaims:
"I love the way the autofocus so completely follows my eye."

The Canon Speedlite 580 EX II gave the main
subject even exposure impossible with available light --
and did equal justice to the monkeys in the background!
Add the snow and you have a very difficult exposure situation.
EOS-3 performed to perfection."

Of his move to Canon, Wolfe says, "Since I switched to Canon, I've
taken shots I never could have taken before. As for the EOS-3,
it's truly 'A Victory for Photography'."



EOS-3

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A Victory for Photography.

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Avoiding the tax man

Your cover story "The tax dodgers" (June 14) is incomplete in reporting only on ordinary citizens. The real tax dodgers are the large corporations. If they plan well, they can roll their tax dollars over and over so they never have to pay. The number of multimillionaires and of children in poverty are both increasing in Canada: in 1978, the income of the richest 10 per cent of families with children under 18 was 21 times that of the poorest; by 1996, it was 314 times as much.

Mike Canabro (Saskatoon, Saskatchewan)



Paradise Island: offshore tax planning

The offshore financial industry is not playing 499 and 494 games, nor are the professionals here for a joke and a gale. The *Financial industry* in the Cayman Islands is a serious business for

serious clients, and tax professionals are required to give opinions on their clients' structures onshore to ensure compliance prior to becoming clients offshore. As a Canadian-trained lawyer and an officer of the court having taken the oath that I would maintain the profession with honesty and integrity, and with my career and business in the offshore trust law service industry, I take great offence at the statements that professionals outside of Canada are somehow promoting illegality in Canada and creating criminals out of the poor unfortunates Canadian public. Since when was prudent fiscal, estate and tax planning a crime?

Steven Field, George Town, Grand Cayman Island

The global response to government criminal activity (overtaxation) is clearly detailed in your cover story. Hopefully, the feds will amend the tax laws that make taxpayers feel a great article. Good luck to the arctic dodgers.

Louis B. Harding, Montreal

What an ugly note: Your June 14 issue included "Millennium of D-Deeds," a column by Anthony Wilson-Smith about Canadians who sacrificed their lives in their youth in the Second World War—fiction, all of them. The following five pages dealt mostly with upper- and middle-class Canadians whose goal in life is tax avoidance, and the professional advisors who assist them—parasites and scoundrels, all of them. The most galling thing to honest taxpayers is that the tax criminals and their advisors are laughing all the way to the (offshore) bank.

Bruce Selley, Toronto

I couldn't help muddling "The tax dodgers" and another article in the same issue, "Tory taxes in Ontario," in my mind. Together, they portray a sad picture of current Canadian values and pri-

Farming red ink

I read with great interest your article on rough times in Saskatchewan farming ("Heartbreak on the farm," Canada, May 31). I am sorry to say a study I recently completed on returns to agricultural operations in east-central Saskatchewan reinforces the grim outlook. The study specifically countered the efforts of the ending of the Crow subsidy. It makes it clear that farm income in the region will have to drastically increase in order for farmers to realize the Saskatchewan average employment income or average family income. What does this mean for the province's farm families? Principally, that there will be fewer of them. That Saskatchewan's farmers compare badly in the world market with heavily subsidized American and European is of little comfort to them as they drown in pools of red ink.

Joel Colberg, graduate research assistant, department of agricultural economics, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon

orders. There were no reports of significant grassroots indignation by Canadians regarding the blatantly illegal activities of their fellow citizens stashing money in Caribbean tax havens, however, the right-wing economic and social agendas of the Hnatu government of Ontario and like-minded governments in other provinces enjoy electoral support. What a day it will be when Canadians demand 1-800-Search here for tax evaders as well as welfare fraud.

Steven Rott, Ontario, Ont.

The error of our ways

Well, the weatherman speaks to us again, but will we heed the advice? Rachel Carson opened our eyes, Jacques Cousteau warned us before his death and David Suzuki is again saying "for our ways" ("Saving the Earth," *Essays on the Millennium*, June 14). But as we study not reluctantly, we clear green spaces, increase production, fire up the coal generators for more electricity, all with the pioneer attitude that this is ours for the taking. What is happening to our environment is just like a cancer. It starts, taking many years to expose itself enough for the doctor to make the diagnosis. How do we plant the seed in the

Saab vs. Formula One

La Mase, Monza Carlo: Nurburgring. Research and development slots for many passenger cars. But not Saab. Instead of testing components during a 90-minute race, in special Formula One cars, Saab went to Talladega, Alabama and ran standard production cars day and night. Speeds averaged 142 mph (228.45 km/h), stopping only for fuel, tires and routine service. 25,000 miles (40,230 km) in eight days, breaking 18 speed records. Not a single mechanical failure. Research and development for the Saab 9-3.

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Opening
Notes

A royal wedding (Lite) for Sophie and Edward



When she ascended the broad steps of St. George's Chapel in Windsor Castle in a low-cut gown with 325,000 glass beads and pearls, she was plain Sophie Rhys-Jones, public relations consultant. When she crested, she was Her Royal Highness the Countess of Wessex—and still a public relations consultant. The wedding on Saturday of Rhys-Jones, 36, and Prince Edward, 35, was a royal ruckus of the party associated with royal occasions. But in keeping with the couple's desire to live a relatively normal life, this was Royal Wedding Lite. Even Edward's new title was less grand than a widely preferred deduction: he adds Earl of Wessex and Viscount Severn to his collection. The Queen, however, let it be known he would eventually inherit his father's title, Duke of Edinburgh.



Gladiators from across the prince and the new countess leave St. George's Chapel after their marriage; the Bishop of Norwich, Peter Hart, who conducted the ceremony, greets the Queen and Prince Philip at the doorway; the wedding carriage approaches a statue of Queen Victoria outside Windsor Castle; brothers Prince Charles, Prince Edward and Prince Andrew head for the chapel; Charles's son Prince William and Prince Harry emerge; the Queen Mother, who will turn 93 in August, happily ignores the couple's requests that ladies not wear hats to the wedding.



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Opening Notes

Best-Sellers

Fiction	POSITION LAST WEEK
1. DAVID COPPERFIELD , Charles Dickens (C) — 3	
2. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 1	
3. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 2	
4. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 3	
5. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 4	
6. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 5	
7. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 6	
8. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 7	
9. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 8	
10. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 9	

Nonfiction	POSITION LAST WEEK
1. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 1	
2. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 2	
3. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 3	
4. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 4	
5. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 5	
6. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 6	
7. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 7	
8. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 8	
9. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 9	
10. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 10	

Aerobics for the brain

Stable Me Too: A World Treasury of Word Puzzles, Fill-Ins, and Logic Games (Bantam Books) is a collection of engaging word puzzles, challenges and logic games. In contrast to at least 6,000 years, the puzzle was a favourite form of recreation, used to test and sharpen people's wits. Now adapted to the playground, *Stable Me Too* hopes to reverse the puzzle as an adult brain exercise, and has collected word puzzles, logic games, brain teasers, word games, and more from around the world.



Pop Movies

1. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 1	
2. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 2	
3. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 3	
4. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 4	
5. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 5	
6. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 6	
7. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 7	
8. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 8	
9. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 9	
10. THE GIVER , Lois Lowry (D) — 10	

Top movies in Canada, ranked according to box office receipts during the week days that ended on June 17. (In brackets: numbers of weeks in circulation.)

Passages

Died: Former Canadian Football League quarterback Bernie Faloney, 66, of cancer and liver cancer in Hamilton. Faloney began his CFL career in 1954 with the Edmonton Eskimos before joining the Hamilton Tiger-Cats in 1957. He led the team to seven Grey Cup appearances in eight seasons, winning three championships. Faloney retired in 1967 after stints with the Montreal Alouettes and the B.C. Lions. The Hall of Famer's No. 10 Team jersey was retired a week before his death.



Died: Harry H. Silkenman, 85, co-founder of one of Canada's largest law firms, of complications related to heart surgery at his country home in Banff, Que. The Montreal native married Silkenman, Elliot in 1952 with R. Fraser Elliot.

Died: Basil Cardinal Hume, 76, leader of the Roman Catholic Church of England and Wales and one of the most admired public figures in Britain, of cancer in London. He received the Order of Merit recently from Queen Elizabeth on June 2.

Died: Leader of the British Monster Raving Loony Party, David Storch, 58, after jumping himself, in London. Known as 'Sorrowful Lord Storch', he was Britain's longest-serving party leader, but was never elected to any office.

Broke: Canadian sprinter Donovan Bailey's world record in the 100 m by American Maurice Greene, who crossed the finish line in 9.79 seconds in Athens. Bailey's record of 9.84 was set in 1996.

Sued: The World Wrestling Federation, by Martha Hart for the wrongful death of her husband, Owen, during a stunt in Miami in Kanesha City, Mo. Hart is actually suing 15 different defendants, including WWF owner Vince McMahon, for an undisclosed amount.

Hired: Former CBC/TV newscaster Bill Cameron, 56, as vice-president of communications at American Gens Corp., a Toronto-based supplier of water to the e-commerce market.

Maclean's

Maclean's captures top media awards



The National Magazine Awards: Maclean's won the prestigious President's Medal for best overall article, "Rape in the Military" by Susan Wyler June O'Hara, the same package also won the Gold Award for investigative reporting, the eighth annual ranking of universities by Assistant Managing Editor Ann Downes Johnson and staff won the Gold Award for editorial package, *Honourable Missions* went to "Hungarian Riposte" and "Congo de Success" by Maclean's film critic Brian D. Johnson and in Maclean's *Wine Olympics* package, "Gold Rush" by Executive Editor Bob Lewis, Sports and Life Editor James Dracou and their colleagues.

The Canadian Journalism Foundation's "Excellence in Journalism" Award: This annual award recognizes the outstanding work of a professional organization. Maclean's was selected for devoting major resources to covering important public issues and for maintaining an unflinching commitment to journalistic integrity.

The Midwestern Award Honourable Mention: Presented to Maclean's for a series investigating troubles in the Canadian military, the award focuses on the public benefit generated by media projects.

In fact, Maclean's award-winning cover stories are credited with bringing about sweeping changes in the Canadian Forces and having a profound impact on university campuses across Canada.

Maclean's
 Delivering what matters to Canadians since 1905.



Canada's Century

Maclean's presents the 25 events that shaped Canada in the past 100 years

By J. L. GRANATSTEIN and
NORMAN HILLMER

The past is a foreign country, or so we are frequently told. Men and women can navigate their way through that alien land, however, if they speak a language with some common reference points about which they share a collective memory. These become the markers we share. People need such markers. We live our own lives, with our own family triumphs and tragedies, and such events matter deeply to us all. But if

J. L. Granatstein and Norman Hillmer, who prepared the articles in these pages, are historians and authors. Granatstein is director and CEO of the Canadian War Museum. Hillmer is a professor at Carleton University and president of the Organization for the History of Canada.

The 25 Events that Shaped the Country

Chinese Head Tax 1885-1923	Newfoundland joins Confederation 1949	Olympic and Expo 87
Battle of Vimy Ridge 1917	Hurricane Hazel 1954	FLQ Crisis 1970
Railties Explosion 1917	Pearson's Nobel Peace Prize 1957	Canada-Soviet Hockey Series 1972
Winnipeg General Strike 1919	Arvo Arrow 1959	Constitution and Charter 1982
Panama Case 1929	Quebec's Quiet Revolution 1960	Free Trade Agreement 1988
Dirty Thirties 1929-1939	Medicare 1961	Montreal Massacre 1989
Creation of the CBC 1936	Columbia River Treaty 1964	Demise of the Cod Fishery 1992
Liberation of Holland 1945	Canadian Flag 1965	Birth of Harewood 1999
Discovery of Oil at Leduc, Alta. 1947		



we Canadians are a nation, then we also need markers, crises, events and issues that deeply affect all of us. These provide structure for our lives, giving us something that a Nova Scotian can refer to in Ontario, confident in the belief that the British Columbian and Quebecer he or she is talking to will understand.

Moreover, in the continents that

in the past some great events polarized the whole world, and not only the citizens of a single country. The Second World War, for example, devastated Europe and Asia, reshaped North America for good, involved some South American states and led to others being carved back into lands between the Allies and the Axis powers. African colonial states provided troops to their imperial masters and battlefields for the clash of armies. Incurable Pacific islands were devastated, and Australia and New Zealand faced the first serious threat of invasion in their history. Virtually everyone in every part of the world was involved, some more than others, of course, and men and women in their 60s and

70s in Bernaby and Belgrade, in Boston and Brisbane talk about "The War" confident that everyone will know what they mean.

Thus, however, it likely is far as it goes. The Australian war was different from the Russian and that, in turn, was different from

the Canadian or American. Perspective is shaped by what we see and what we know.

For Canadians, citizens of a nation that is sadly divided by distance, region and language, a country that knows very little about its past and that scarcely teaches it to its children, shared events are especially important. They provide milestones, common cultural capital, that can unite us in our collective memory, even if a coherent national history scarcely exists for most of us. They are the great memories that we have in common. A Quebecer will likely have a very different view of the October Crisis of 1970 than a British Columbian, but both will recall the event, both will remember the murder of Pierre Laporte, and both will recollect Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's key statement when he spoke after Laporte's body was found. There may be little agreement on the meaning of those acts, but even in disagreement, shared recollections provide a bond.

Of course, Canada's past stretches back to the time when the First Nations lived here alone, to the arrival of the early explorers who opened North America up for Europe, and to the first settlers. It encompasses the colonial wars between the rival French and British empires, the decisive capture of Quebec in 1759, and the American invasion of 1775 and during the War of 1812 that were battles back. It includes the rebellions of 1837-1838 in Upper and Lower Canada, Lord Durham's report that proposed responsible government, the achievement of Confederation, and the Red rebellions of 1870 and 1885. It incorporates the rising demand for justice and equality among workers, the massive immigration that first popu-



Students, teachers and parents at St. Thomas School in Sherwood Park, Alta., firm the world's largest Canadian human flag, the best country on earth.

lated the country, and the construction of great canals, railways and railroads. These challenges defined us as a people.

The great events of the 16th to 19th centuries are easy to see in perspective as those of the 20th century we chronicle here, and only space constraints have prevented our including them all in our listing.

We approach our task convinced that the 20th century, in Sir Wilfrid Laurier grandiloquently predicted, truly belonged to Canada. To us, the century has been an age of great national progress and immense achievement—a century in which Canadians changed from a tiny colonial population living in difficult conditions to 30 million from all over the world who cast its peace in the last century on earth. Canada today gives a good life to most of its people, something that was so far from the truth in 1900 as to be almost inconceivable. Ours is a history of national success, though there have been terrible failures and defeats. Thus, the weight of the events we have selected unquestionably tilts towards the positive. This is our deliberate choice.

And, of course, the end of a century, particularly the end of a millennium, is an appropriate time to assemble such a list of Canadian events. The 25 great moments contained here had impacts that were beneficial in most cases, but some caused grievous pain and suffering, and affected people terribly. It is also true that even what most might see as a triumph can have dreadful consequences. The widow of a Canadian infantryman killed in the liberation of the Netherlands in 1945, for example, is unlikely to miss much joy in that great event.

As this is first prepared by two historians, it is inevitably written from our own narrow and biased. But it also reflects the views of hundreds of *Maclean's* readers who responded to the editorial invitation to share the notable moments that, in their minds, mark the extraordinary last century of the millennium. Unfortunately, we had to omit dozens of events for which there was no room. The inscription of the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan of the Second World War that named over 130,000 Allied pilots and other aircrew at airfields all across the nation, a fine example. Another is the *Autonomy Bill* that created Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905 out of what then was named the North-West Territories. A third is the Springfield, N.S., massacre of 1958 in which 74 coal miners died. Then there are the whole women's liberation movement, including the annual hearings and report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women, the discovery of insulin, the cosmographic Deepse, read of 1962, and the historic Supreme Court of Canada decision that struck down the country's abortion law in the *Henry Morgentaler* case. Each had a major impact.

Our final choices, made after much debate, are the 25 great events of the 20th century. They changed the nation.

It was a century
of great joy—
and deep sorrow



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Canada is a country with no military ambitions. Yet war has played a large part in our evolution as an independent nation. We won recognition and respect in two world wars, and peacekeeping gives us a distinctive role in the world.

Vimy Ridge

The Canadians who went off to war in August, 1914, were mostly untrained soldiers. They had enlisted for many reasons, some honourable, some not. Many were patriots or adventurers, but there were also men fleeing their woes at ending the law. There were many more English-speakers than French-speakers, for this "British" war appeared more to unite in Canada than others. Indeed, it appeared more to those who had been born in Britain itself—its first, two-thirds of the first contingent to go overseas had been born there. Not until the end of the war did the Canadian Expeditionary Force exceed 50 per cent, and significantly few were French-speaking.

But the war made all the soldiers who served in Canada. The experience of the trenches helped erase the differences that separated the Nova Scotia fisherman from the Vancouver salaried. Even if he had been born in Edinburgh, the pioneer in the West, Bessie discovered he was no longer British. He thought differently, he employed different fighting tactics, and he became closer to the man in the Canadian regiment next to him than to his brother in the British Army.

Raising the Canadian Expeditionary Force and creating the Canadian Corps at the front

was Canada's greatest achievement since Confederation. To recruit 650,000 men, equip and train them, and weld them into an effective fighting force took a massive national effort. To do this in the face of the huge casualties the trenches made it even more challenging. But Canada did it—and in the process, Canada became a nation.

The key event occurred on Easter Monday, 1917. Fighting with four divisions together for the first time, the Canadian Corps launched a perfectly planned and executed assault on the German position on Vimy Ridge in the northern industrial area of France. The high ridge looked out over German-occupied France, and the enemy, seeing its value, had fortified the line so strongly that neither assaults from the British and French had been hailed back.

Not this time. The Canadian artillery, using techniques developed by a McGill University engineering professor and lieutenant-colonel named Andy McNaughton, targeted German gun positions and destroyed them in the days before the assault. Using new tactics largely developed by the general commanding the First Division, a Victoria militiaman named Arthur Currie, the soldiers of the Corps had been trained to perfection, briefed on what they faced and instructed on



Soldiers of the Canadian Corps return from the bloody battle of Vimy Ridge; it took a monumental national effort to raise, train and equip a force of 650,000 men

how to overcome the enemy position in front of them. The Corps' early morning attack, 19,000 men in eight brigades, directed by Lt-Gen. Sir Julian Byng, their British commander, were in under cover of a creeping artillery barrage, and the Corps swept everything before it along most of the line. The Germans, their front-line soldiers unhinged by the explosion or killed in their dugouts, fell back, giving up their hitherto impenetrable position.

In Britain, the United States and Canada, the victory was hailed as the greatest six-piece battle of the war. The Canadian Corps had done something the British and French could not do and, even if the 18,000 killed and wounded had been a terrible price to pay, the soldiers' pride was enormous. So, too, was Canada's. The

headline on *The Globe* in Toronto on April 10 said it all: "Canadian lead in triumph." An *Atlantic* reader Roy Barter of Windsor, Ont., observed in response to the editors' request for suggestions for due July 1 issue, "Other nations suddenly took notice that this quiet, orderly country was for real."

The taking of Vimy Ridge led to an Allied breakthrough, however, and the war dragged on until Nov. 11, 1918. But soldiers at the time, and historians since, have argued that the victory on Easter Monday, 1917, was the key to making Canada a nation. Currie wrote that those who died in action had "no provincial prejudices and no racial suspicion at their hearts... there was no Quebec and no Ontario... but one great country." If only it had remained so.



'You felt you could hear them cheering'

If there is one nation in the world where Canadians are always assured of a warm welcome, it is the Netherlands. The Dutch remember the Second World War, and they remember that the First Canadian Army led the liberation of their country. In May, 1995, when the 50th anniversary of V-E Day was marked, thousands of Canadian veterans marched through the Dutch towns they had freed and, young and old, the Dutch cheered them as heroes. Young mothers held up their babies in their grins, as men, women and children, down their faces, so they could tell their children 10 or 20 years hence that they had rescued one of the men who had liberated their country. The Dutch remember, even if Canadians do not.

The war had started badly for Canada and the Allies. Unprepared, Canada needed time to mobilize, and by the time Canadian servicemen reached Britain in strength, Nazi Germany controlled most of Europe. The first Canadian soldiers landed on the Continent in Dieppe in August, 1942—a raid in strength in which 2,753 of the 4,963 Canadians were killed or taken prisoner.

Dieppe demonstrated how ill-prepared the Allies were to mount an assault on Hitler's "Fortress Europe." Nonetheless, in July, 1943, the Allies—an infantry division and an armoured brigade of Canadians included—launched Sicily. The campaign northwards up the Italian boot was costly and long, but Canadian soldiers learned their hard trade at Ortona, the Hitler Line and the Gothic Line.

That experience was needed when D-Day finally came on June 6, 1944. The great invasion of France included a division of Canadian infantry and a battalion of paratroops, as well as units of the Royal Canadian Air Force and the Royal Canadian Navy. The lesson learned in Dieppe had been absorbed. The breakout from the Normandy beachhead was followed by the destruction of the Germans at Falaise, a battle in which the Canadians played a key role in trapping entire enemy divisions in a giant pocket. For a brief few weeks in August and September, it looked as if the war might be won quickly. But the vital Scheldt estuary, which provided entry to the great Belgian port of Antwerp, was not cleared when there was a chance to do it, and the massive airborne assault against the Dutch city of Arnhem, an attempt to capture a large bridge spanning the Rhine, was beaten back by the Germans. Without access to Antwerp, without a way across the Rhine, the Allied advance stalled. The war dragged on through another winter.

The Dutch, meanwhile, were starving on rations that provided as little as 320 calories a day. Occupied by the brutal Nazi regime, their men

used as slave labour in the Dutch, their lot was desperate. Allied strategy was to bypass the northern Netherlands while passing into Germany in February, 1945, and it was not until the beginning of April that the armies moved to the liberation of the Dutch.

This task fell to the First Canadian Army under Gen. Harry Crerar. His Second Canadian Corps had the task of dislodging the enemy in the northern while the First Canadian Corps, just arrived from Italy, laid the siege. There was much hard fighting—the Cape Breton Highlanders reported that they had their most difficult battle of the war on May 1, 1945—with Hitler already a suicide in his Berlin bunker—but there were moments of humanity in the midst of carnage. The Nazi occupiers, now worried about their fate, offered to let the Canadians carry food to the Dutch at the end of April. Where-flogged convoys rolled along the roads and bombers dropped rations by parachute. On airships, the Dutch greeted "Thank you Canadians," and one pilot recalled that he could see thousands of cheering Dutch from his Lancaster. "You felt you could hear them cheering," he said, and it was true.

The two large Canadian commands at Gronau and Halton held the thousands of Canadians who died at Hitler's Holland. The commands are pictured by Dutch schoolchildren who put flowers on the graves of the young Canadians who was so far from home. The Dutch remember that freedom has a price—and they know who paid it for them.



Dr. H. H. H.

Devastation in Halton, joyful Dutch civilians welcome Canadian soldiers entering Utrecht in 1945 (below) remembering the sacrifice



The Halifax Explosion brought the war home

In the winter of 1917, the fourth year of the war in Europe, Canadians were dead. The federal election campaign, involving another question of whether to impose conscription to maintain the ranks at the front in France, was under way, and the political clanging was even more vicious than usual. Some corporations were getting rich out of the war and, while there was work, inflation seemed to be easing up the wages of workers. Sir Robert Borden, the Halifax lawyer, was prime minister, and while many in the country did not admire his politics, all repeated his determination to prosecute the war to victory.

Then in a flash, the concerns of politics and power disappeared as the war came home. On Dec. 6, the Belgian ship *Imo* collided with the French maritime vessel *Mont Blanc* at Halifax harbour. There was panic on the French ship, coming to Halifax to give a convoy bound for Britain, as crew aware that it carried 2,750 tons of picric acid, gunpowder and TNT loaded in New York City. The panic was fully justified. The *Imo* abandoned ship, leaving it in flames, as it moved to the Dartmouth side of the harbour. Twenty-one minutes after the collision, *Mont Blanc* erupted in a gigantic fireball that basked the greatest man-made explosion in history in that point.

Halifax was devastated. The North End all but disappeared, its working-class population beset by the heat of the Canadian at a square mile of the great port city lay in ruins. Houses that withstood the explosion none were burning, as ovens and furnaces set the town alight. Across the harbour, Dartmouth was also hard hit, and vessels in the anchorage were wrecked while small boats were tossed where in the blue-enriched tidal wave. The noise of the explosion was heard as far away as Prince Edward Island.

The army and navy responded quickly, sending in troops

in training and sailors. Civilian hospitals cleared their floors for casualties, and hundreds of relief workers and supplies arrived from Boston and Eastern Canada. The need was desperate—about 1,600 dead, 9,000 injured and more than 13,500 homes destroyed or badly damaged. Damage was estimated at \$55 million in 1917 dollars, perhaps \$400 million in today's currency.

Prime Minister Borden, campaigning in P.E.I., headed at once for Halifax, arriving in the midst of what he described "as one of the most terrible blizzards I ever experienced." He ordered \$500,000 in federal emergency relief funds to be provided at once, got people peeling in Halifax, and commiserated with married fishermen, including a boy who was one of two survivors in a family of 11. The crew and could compounded the misery this. Borden described in an interview: "Two miles away from the scene of the explosion, heavy doors were blown from their hinges—the heavy gun on the *Mont Blanc* was hurled two miles into the woods beyond Dartmouth... large telephone poles a mile away were snapped off like pine trees. The subway track was washed away by the tidal wave created by the explosion... glass was broken in windows in towns 60 miles distant."

Amidst the horror, there were heroes. The old cruiser HMCS *Niobe* sent seven volunteers to try to avenge the *Mont Blanc*; they managed to stop the ship just as it exploded, killing them all. Doctors and nurses, labouring for days without sleep, worked themselves into exhaustion.

The Halifax relief effort, like the explosion, was Canadian granite. The federal government provided \$19 million in aid, British contributed 100 million pounds, and provinces, cities and nearby towns donated supplies and money. Meanwhile, the war went on, and Halifax now bore its scars.



Peacekeeping was Pearson's legacy

"Like finding a beloved uncle around for aye," that was *The Economist's* description of the Canadian reaction to the Anglo-French attempt to recapture the Suez Canal from Egypt in October, 1956. Canadians had had enough of "the squabblers of Europe," Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent declared.

It was only 11 years after the war against Hitler had ended. But this time, the warring adversaries were Britain and France, Canada's two mother countries. The British and the French had owned the Suez Canal, linking the Mediterranean to the Red Sea, since the 19th century. Suez was their lifeline through the Middle East and the source of immense international prestige.

Egypt's nationalist president, Gamal Abdel Nasser, seized the canal on July 26, 1956, the fourth anniversary of the revolution he had led against King Farouk. The British and French wanted Suez back desperately. Franco diplomacy failed, and the two countries plotted with Israel to invade Egypt. By secret arrangements, Israel attacked Egypt on Oct. 29, Britain and France then ordered Israel and Egypt to withdraw from the area around Suez. When Nasser refused, Anglo-French forces intervened directly, beginning to bomb the canal zone.

Britain and France simply assumed the support of Canada and other former colonies. When they got from Ottawa instead was surprise—anger that was reinforced by the outrage expressed by Canada's closest ally, the United States. Still, foreign minister Lester Pearson publicly espoused conciliation, and he worked to attract the British and French from the hole they had dug for themselves.

Working brilliantly at the United Nations, Pearson forged a consensus behind what he called "a truly international peace and police force" to supervise the creation of Israelites. The ceasefire came on Nov. 6 and the United Nations Trucekeeping Force was on the ground within days. It was the UN's first big multinational peace force—and the beginning of modern peacekeeping.

Canadian Maj.-Gen. E. L. M. Burns, a Second World War commander, was named to head UNEF. His highly experienced on television news quickly turned him into one of the most recognizable Canadian faces. His demeanour was invariably serene and serious. His nickname was "Smiley"—because he never did.

Nasser was more so anxious to let Canadians apart from Burns into the UN force. He saw Canadian army as an extension of British imperialism, all the more so because the Canadian unit stood for service was the Queen's Own



Pearson, with Maryon at Nobel assembly in Oslo in 1957

Rifles—over to British-sounding and -looking. Pearson had to shore hard to get Canadians into UNEF. When he did, they were not the glamorous Queen's Own but the supply, transport and medical units that became a staple of Canadian peacekeeping.

On Oct. 14, 1957, Parliament opened with a new prime minister at the helm. Conservative John Diefenbaker had swept the votes cast by Canadians who were upset by Pearson's decision of Britain in her time of need and who felt certain that Canada had simply tagged along after the Americans. But UNF was upsurge. The same day in the opening of Parliament, it was announced that Lester Pearson had become the first Canadian to win the Nobel Peace Prize. The mission was pure understatement: from the boyish, bow-tied former foreign minister "Goody."

Peacekeeping has been an itch that every Canadian prime minister and foreign minister has had to scratch. Hardly a single peace operation, UN or otherwise, has been mounted without Canada's participation. In more than 30 missions spanning a half-century, more than 100,000 Canadians have served as peacekeepers around the world—in such places as Kashmir, Cyprus, Haiti, El Salvador, Western Sahara, Yemen, Cambodia, Somalia, Rwanda, Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia.

As poll after poll shows, Canadians regard peacekeeping as national property, an activity that suits our personality, skills and place in the world. We insist we are different from other countries—the United States, in particular—and that peacekeeping proves the point. Uncle Sam fights wars, while Johnny Canuck keeps the peace. How ironic it was, then, to find ourselves helping the North Atlantic Treaty Organization to wage war against Serbia for the right to send peacekeepers to Kosovo.



The Persons Case

A significant part of the story of Canada in the 20th century has involved the struggle for rights and fair treatment for such diverse groups as women, workers, aboriginals, gays, immigrants and the poor.

The greatest successes of the early women's movement in Canada came from the West. In 1916, Alberta woman Emily Murphy became the first woman police magistrate in the British Empire. The same year, Manitoba was the first province where women could vote. Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia (along with Ontario) followed suit almost immediately. The first women to enter provincial cabinets were in British Columbia and Alberta. All of the women who won seats in provincial legislatures before 1940 were from the Prairie and British Columbia.

Five Alberta women pushed women's rights farther: Nellie McClung, Irene Parley, Henrietta Muir Edwards, Louise McClintock and Murphy were named by the federal government's refusal after the First World War to appoint even one woman senator on the grounds that the Constitution mentioned simply "qualified persons," and did not stipulate that both genders could be included in the upper house.

The "Famous Five," as they were to become,



The "Famous Five" (clockwise from left): Murphy, Parley, Edwards, McClintock, and McClung, although their fight led to the recognition that women have the same rights as men, progress in the political arena has been slow

mid, Wilfrid, a Liberal and "a lady." After all, women like Murphy were, he wrote in his diary, "a little too masculine and probably a bit too sensational." Wilson compiled a solid record in the Senate, and was a prominent opponent of anti-Semites, but she was valued by contemporaries chiefly for her motherliness. They called her the "Berry Crocker of the Senate."

Mary McCaughen of "Willand, Ont., was one of the Macdonald women who agitated the Persons Case as one of the pivotal events of the century. "The Five became an inspiration and they still are," she says. "Women were finally in politics without reservation. Women were finally persons in law as well as in every other sense."

But despite the judicial government's decision, progress on the political front was slow. For many years, few women candidates won seats at the federal and provincial levels. Women, it was discovered, did not automatically vote for other women, as feminists assumed they would. The only female member of Parliament from 1921 (the first national election in which all women could vote) in 1935 was Agnes Macphail, who was named



appealed to the Supreme Court of Canada, which unanimously declared that Canadian women were not "persons" in the office-holding sense, either in the eyes of tradition or the Constitution. But the Supreme Court was not then supreme. In 1929, the Alberta women carried their case to the judicial committee of the Privy Council in Westminster, which then had the final say in such matters. Those parties sided with the Famous Five, saying that the exclusion of women from all public offices was "a relic of days more barbarous than ours."

In 1930, Prime Minister Mackenzie King's choice as the first woman senator was Cairine Wilson from Ontario, who had three qualifications: She was, King



themselves by role MPs and dismissed as an unimpressive figure by the press, which played up her antiquarian clothes and appearance. Macphail said she was made to feel like a bear in a cage, a lioness. In the late 1920s, Anne Anderson Perry wrote in *Macdonald* that women were all dressed up with the vote but had found "nowhere to go." They were divided in their goals, caught between old and new concepts of their roles in society. Perry wondered if women's suffrage had failed.

Almost three quarters of a century later, we like to think much has changed. But try telling that to the women politicians of the late 1990s who still find themselves forced to operate under very different rules from the men.



Strikers surround a streetcar as rioters occupy the streets: the 1919 General Strike was labour's last real challenge to capitalism

Winnipeg exploded on 'Bloody Saturday'

Canada was beset by problems at the end of the Great War of 1914-1918. More than a half-million veterans, many of them wounded in body and mind, had to be reintegrated into society. The gulfing influx of war-time had to be divided, and divisions between British- and English-speaking Canadians, caused by conscription, had to be repaired. Above all, in a world awash in the Russian Revolution that had toppled the czar in 1917, strife between labour and capital had to be moderated.

For Canadians, the climactic battle between business and workers was fought in Winnipeg in the late spring of 1919. The immediate cause in Winnipeg revolved around a strike by metal and construction workers for union recognition and higher wages. Frustrated in their efforts, the strikers called for a general strike on May 15, and within days every union local in the city was off the job. At least 20,000 non-union workers supported the general strike, as did many remaining soldiers.

Winnipeg's Citizens' Committee of One Thousand, composed of business and industrial leaders, believed that it was fighting for Canada and the Canadian way of life. The federal government was equally adamant in its opposition to the strike, and even resolution was in the air in Canada in 1919, and a "red scare" gripped the land. Immigrants, especially, were suspect. The army was placed on standby.

The pressure for federal intervention was, oddly, mild and broad. So that people could get the basic necessities,

the committee of workers directing the strike declared that it would permit deliveries of essentials. To the government, this was a challenge. Who was running the city: strikers or elected representatives? In Ottawa, the minister of the interior, Arthur Meighen, ordered army and police reinforcements.

On June 21, Winnipeg exploded. Off the job for five weeks, the strikers were out of money and patience. They barred a streetcar, the Mounted Police charged the crowd, and when a Mounted fell off his horse and was beaten, another soon after, soldiers with machine-guns moved in, and "Bloody Saturday" took the Winnipeg General Strike. On June 26, the strike committee capitulated in return for the promise of a royal commission into the strike's causes.

The federal government took its revenge and deported foreign-born strike leaders. Meighen, his southern hordes by his cabinet and caucus and by businessmen, became prime minister in 1920. But the real winner was Mackenzie King, elected Liberal leader two months after Bloody Saturday. King was a labour expert, the author of a book on relations between labour and capital, and the man who seemed mostly right for the times. King won the 1921 election, defeating Meighen, and he ruled for most of the next 27 years. For in part, organized labour, owed by the fierce government response to the General Strike, never again mounted a serious challenge to capitalism in Canada.

How Canada tried to bar 'the yellow peril'

Canadians like to think of themselves as a tolerant people. Multiculturalism is the law of the land, and Canadians have welcomed waves of immigration in many decades, including thousands of Hungarians after the 1956 anti-Communist revolt and now several thousand Kosovans, many of whom will undoubtedly choose to remain here.

But our tolerance is a relatively new development. In the early years of Confederation and for many years afterward, even while the government was actively recruiting all over Europe, popular sentiment was strong against Jewish, Central European and Italian immigrants. Blacks and Asians were especially unwelcome. Canada, as a hapsan once said, was a nation of immigrants that didn't want immigrants, and so it seemed to be.

Presidents, teachers and ordinary citizens all spoke casually of "Jokes" and "Wops" and "Chinks" and thought nothing of it. Today's attitudes are different, but the beliefs of an earlier day, however unpleasant to our ears, were no less firmly held than our own.

Chinese immigrants began arriving in Canada after the great California gold rush of the late 1840s, and within a few years substantial numbers were working in trades that served gold miners or as merchants. The greatest influx—17,007 between 1881 and 1884—came with the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway. There are no Chinese visible in the famous picture of the driving of the great railroad's last spike, but there was and is to be a dead Chinese for every look of fire in the Fraser River canyon. There was also hatred. The Chinese labourers thought they were to be provided transportation back to China, but the railway and provincial and federal governments refused to accept any responsibility. A large number of men had to scramble to survive as best they could. Those who did were welcomed their wives to join them, and the pressures for more immigration aroused xenophobia among white Canadians.

The pressure to stop the flow of immigrants led the federal government to put a head tax of \$50 in place in 1885. Few Chinese could enter Canada unless they paid \$50, a large sum at that day and equivalent to \$800 today. Other discriminatory measures followed, including in 1895 the exclusion of Chinese from voting, despite (or because of) the fact that they constituted more than 10 per cent of British Columbia's population. But the Chinese kept coming, the protests against "the yellow peril" increased, and in 1905, after a royal commission pronounced Asians "obnoxious to a free community," Ottawa increased the head tax to \$500. In 1923, on what Canadian-Chinese refer to as "banishment day," the Asiatic Exclusion League and other white supremacists, persuaded Ottawa to bar all Chinese immigration. Then in 1951, the federal government put the stamp on the cake of banishment by effectively denying resident Chinese the right to apply for Canadian citizenship.

This blatant discrimination began to ease with the Second World War. China was an ally, and Chinese-Canadians served in the Canadian military. Moreover, the revelations of Nazi genocide and Japanese atrocities made racism much less fashionable or acceptable than it had been. In 1947, Chinese immigrants arrived and Ottawas offered citizenship to those who had been denied it for more than five years. Since then, the Chinese-Canadian community has expanded and prospered, producing doctors and scientists, architects and developers, and municipal, provincial and federal politicians.

Late the exclusion of Jews fleeing from Hitler in the 1930s and the relocation and internment of Japanese-



A Chinese store in B.C. around 1900: racism was rampant

Canadians during the Second World War, memories of the head tax linger to shame the country and successive governments. Efforts to atone inform for Canadians of Chinese origin have been going on for more than a decade. Governments have made and broken promises, and the Chinese administration's policy, as stated in 1994, is "to see limited government resources to create a more equitable society today and a better future for generations to come." In other words, it would be too expensive to make amends to the Chinese and other minorities that have grievances. There would be no looking back, no redress. The head tax remains an ugly scar on the history of a supposedly tolerant, equitable nation.

The Birth of Nunavut

No two nations are built the same way or from the same materials. Canada is the product of many varied and distinctive accomplishments, from the CBC to medicare, free trade and, most recently, the Inuit territory called Nunavut.

Cut out of the Northwest Territories at the top of Canada, Nunavut is a monstrous leap of faith—or folly. The newest territory, which came into being on April 1, is the country's largest jurisdiction, spanning three time zones, one-fifth of the nation's land mass, more than five times the size of Germany and four times that of Sweden. Yet there are fewer than 30,000 people in Nunavut, a population density of only 1.3 people for every 100 square kilometres. Winter persists far more than six months, and the ground is permanently frozen to a depth of hundreds of feet. Inuktitut, the capital, with a population of 4,500, has a mean temperature in January of -30° C. Little wonder that the country's longest-serving prime minister, Michael Keeg, once wondered aloud whether Canada had too much geography.

But the North has always fired the Canadian imagination. The national anthem trumpets the "True North strong and free," and Canadians cling to their self-portrait as (in the words of a 19th-century writer) the "young, fair and robust natives of the North," even though few travel very far beyond the cities and towns of the

extreme north. Somehow, Canadians imagine that the North makes them unique, differentiating them from those soft, warm-blooded Yankons.

More than that, there is something breathtaking about the Nunavut experiment. The excitement of creating a new territory. The outworking of maps. The idea of giving aboriginal people their due. The welcoming of a new citizen—"Although we cannot erase the errors of past centuries, we can welcome a new one by providing an opportunity for a fresh start," suggests Michael reader Kathryn Marshall of Kimberley, B.C. The peaceful process of fundamental change. "I was struck by the fact," says Scott Siman, deputy minister of Indian and northern affairs, "that Nunavut's birthplace happened just as the tragedy in the former Yugoslavia was entering an awful new phase. The whole Nunavut sign is a magnificent symbol of Canada's flexible democracy at its best. The mark is a government built around the Inuit people, so that it is truly their land now."

It didn't just happen. The Inuit Tapscott of Canada called for the creation of



Three Inuit women run a four-legged race during festivities in Igloolik marking the creation of Nunavut this year: the North has always fired the Canadian imagination

Nunavut in 1976, and although they stuck to their goal with patience and toughness, their commitment to the country was never in doubt. As Julia Aumagluk, known as the "Mother of Nunavut," puts it: "We are not trying to break up Canada. We're trying to join Canada."

The federal government finally agreed to a separate territory of Nunavut as part of the 1993 Nunavut Land Claim Agreement, granting the Inuit people who dominate the region a form of self-government, a cash settlement in excess of \$1 billion over 14 years and title to

350,000 square kilometres of land in the eastern Arctic.

The social, economic and political challenges are formidable, from unemployment to teen suicide to inflated expectations. Aumagluk underlines the risks better than anyone: Perhaps it will be even harder to survive than before, he admits. "But at least it will be our people that will be making the effort. If someone is to blame, it won't be someone in Ottawa or Yellowknife, but here—someone whom we can talk to, who understands our language."



The first Arrow is rolled out at Malton, Ont., in 1957; conspiracy theories still surround the cancellation of the interceptor

The Avro Arrow assumed mythic proportions

Canadians like to think of themselves as a peaceful people. This conceit, while neglecting the nation's role in the wars of this century, makes most puzzling the extraordinary controversy in the cancellation of the *Avro Arrow* in 1959. The CF-105 was a supersonic, an intercepter designed to destroy attacking Soviet bombers over the Canadian North. In the minds of many Canadians, however, it has assumed mythic proportions over the years as a symbol of national pride and the struggle for independence from the United States.

The need for the Arrow sprang out of the Cold War. The Soviet Union tested its first nuclear weapon in 1949 and almost simultaneously developed long-range bombers capable of striking North American targets. What was Canada's contribution to the air defence of the continent to beat The Royal Canadian Air Force and the Liberal government of Louis St. Laurent in 1953 turned their attention to a new interceptor to be developed by A. V. Roe, a British-owned firm located in Malton, just outside Toronto. The plan, initially calling for 600 aircraft, looked to Canadian development only of the airframe, with the engines, weapons and electronics to be acquired elsewhere. "When no suitable engine could be found, Ottawa reluctantly ordered its development. At the same time, as costs rose towards a billion dollars, Ottawa scaled back its orders. By the time John Diefenbaker won the 1957 election, the fate of the Arrow was in doubt.

The new Conservative government looked for other avenues that might buy the aircraft, but found no takers. Its senior military advisors spent months worrying about the Arrow, concluding that if production went ahead, the

country needed re-equipment of the army and navy would be nullified for lack of funds. The United States was working on the Bomarc surface-to-air missile, which seemed capable of destroying attacking bombers and "looking" their nuclear payloads. Then in 1957, the Soviet Union put a satellite into orbit, a clear indication that Moscow was on the verge of producing effective intercontinental ballistic missiles. What then was the utility of an interceptor designed to shoot down bombers?

The big difficulty was that Arrow and its suppliers employed 25,000 workers, including a first-rate team of designers and engineers. If the government killed the aircraft, these skilled workers might be lost to the country. But the changing technology, the opposition of the armed forces chiefs and the over-sustaining costs forced the prime minister's hand. In February, 1959, Diefenbaker scrapped the Arrow, announcing Canada would acquire Bomarc that were effective only with nuclear warheads.

The public reaction was one of outrage. The Arrow, as *Maclean* reader Hattie Dyck of Uxio, N.S., wrote, "had changed the way we thought about ourselves." Conspiracy theories castigated the Americans had forced Diefenbaker to kill the Arrow because it was too advanced. Soon, the CF-105—far from being a source of Canadian pride—became a symbol of Canadian failure by the United States, cemented in books and plays of contemporary lore.

In reality, the Arrow was cancelled because it cost too much. Diefenbaker made the right decision, but he paid a heavy price. Four years later, divisions within his administration over the Bomarc missile and their nuclear setback brought down the Tory government.

At long last, medicare

The Great Depression of the 1930s left deeper scars on Saskatchewan than on any other part of Canada. The province's farmers saw their cash income fall by more than two-thirds between 1928 and 1931, and so late in 1937 two-thirds of the population was living on relief.

But out of the crucible of the Dirty Thirties came a new generation of political leaders who were determined to protect their people from the ravages of similar catastrophes in the future. And chief among these reformers was Thomas Clement (Tommy) Douglas, a fiery Baptist preacher, who became one of the most influential politicians of his time.

A member of Parliament-elected-provincial leader of the social-democratic Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the forerunner of the NDP, Douglas had gone into politics because of the Depression. He had seen his parishioners in Weyburn starved, their families broken up, their incomes cut in half. He had watched as scores of his people spend long hours in the poor houses and in the hospitals on charity for dirty beds, care, attention, he believed, had no civilised right to hospital care and to doctors' services. And when he led the CCF to power in Regina in 1944, Douglas gave his chance to act.

In 1947, his government passed legislation that took the first step towards universal hospital insurance. It took Douglas more than a decade before he was able to persuade Ottawa to share the cost, but the Saskatchewan example (funded by federal cash) was so compelling that by 1961 all 10 provinces were providing hospital insurance for their citizens.

Medicare was a tougher nut to crack. Doctors-run medical insurance plans covered two-thirds of Saskatchewan's citizens, and there was strong opposition from physicians to any government intervention in this area. To them, publicly administered medical insurance meant socialist medicine—medicine that was too arrogant for the doctors. Douglas, however, was determined. His government began planning in 1958 and made Medicare the central issue in the 1960 Saskatchewan election. The CCF was re-elected, and the bill establishing Medicare in Saskatchewan passed on Nov. 17, 1961.

The struggle was far from finished, however. Elected national leader of the newly formed New Democratic Party, Douglas left Regina for Ottawa and was succeeded as premier by Woodrow Lloyd. Able enough, Lloyd lacked Douglas' flexibility, and Saskatchewan was soon thrown into a province-wide doctors' strike. The government was committed to Medicare; the doctors were committed to an ultimatum, and on July 1, 1962, they walked off the job.

On the first day of the strike, a sick baby died after in parents' over-the-top despair. "It shocked in view of hospitals and surgeons called by the 300 doctors who have suspended practice." Such incidents led the national media, ordinarily not supporters of socialist causes, to turn against organized medicine and its refusal to obey a law passed by



Douglas in 1968; he led the fight in Regina and Ottawa

the legislature. The *star*, the *Globe* and *Mail* declared, was "not Medicare but democracy."

The impasse was broken when both sides accepted the appointment of a mediator Lord Stephen Taylor, a British doctor and poet, was historic, persuasive and compelling. He shrewdly brought both the government and the physicians into accepting an agreement on July 23.

A national insurance scheme now was all but inevitable. The Royal Commission on Health Services, reporting in 1964, called for universal, comprehensive, publicly administered health insurance for all Canadians. With Tommy Douglas, in opposition, at its core, the Liberal government of Lester Pearson proposed a shared-cost program to the province, with an implementation date of July 1, 1967. Although there was some fierce opposition among doctors, insurance companies and certain provincial governments, opinion polls made it clear that Canadians wanted to be head of the direct burden of medical bills. Implementation was delayed by a year and ultimately all 10 provinces were forced—no second—into joining the plan by the pressure of public opinion and the bite of federal money.

Choosing the 'Canadian wolf'

There is a host of conspiracy theories surrounding Newfoundland's entry into Confederation in 1949. The British collided with Canada to have the union come about. Bribes in the second referendum were destroyed to produce the desired result. Vast sums of money from Canadian corporations poured into Newfoundland to ensure the result. The pro-Confederation campaign was secretly orchestrated by the Liberal party in Ottawa.

The truth is simpler. Newfoundland, a dominion in its own right, had effectively declared bankruptcy only in the Great Depression, and Britain had put its dominion status in suspension and named an appointed Commission of Government to run the island's affairs.

The Second World War, which brought substantial numbers of Canadian, American and British service personnel to Newfoundland, also brought prosperity, and the Canadian government helped to create the long history of assistance between Canada and Newfoundland. It is possible that the United States, which had acquired bases there in 1940, had some interest in acquiring Newfoundland for its defence potential. It is clear that Britain did not want this. And it is beyond doubt that a financially strapped United Kingdom decided after the war that it could no longer bear the expense of sustaining Newfoundland.

Beyond that, everything was up for grabs. There were many in Newfoundland who wanted dominion status and full self-government ensured. There were some, including members of the powerful ancestral Croftie family, who looked up a link to the United States as the best choice. And still others, led by the extraordinary journalist, labour organizer, pulp farmer and broadcaster Joey Smallwood, wanted to join Canada.

When the British announced their intention to pull out, they called a national convention to decide Newfoundland's future. Only one outright Confederalist vote election to the 45-member convention happened for Canada that was the indefatigable Smallwood who, though badly outnumbered, dominated the proceedings based by all on radio. Gradually he built support by educating his constituents about Canada. "They had no conception of a federal system of government," Smallwood said, nor did they understand the benefits that could flow to every output with Confederation.

Through force of authority, Smallwood won agreement that the convention should send a delegation to Ottawa to



discuss terms with Canada. For three months, the delegation bargained and bickered through the sweltering summer of 1947. When they returned, they carried a long description of how Canada worked and the benefits that flowed to all provinces. Special terms for Newfoundland seemed soon after, and Smallwood, he said, "had the time of my life explaining and expounding Confederation." So well did he do his job that the case for Canada became a credible one, and the British government decided to place three options on the referendum ballot: self-government, Confederation with Canada, and the continuation of the Commission of Government.

The battle was joined. "Come near to your peril, Canadian War!" the anti-Confederalists of an earlier age had sung, and the words echoed still. For his part, Smallwood argued that the "Commission of Government means security, but no democracy; responsible government means democracy, but no security; Confederation means democracy and security, both"—an effective argument indeed and all the more for being true. Despite his herculean efforts, Smallwood did not carry the day; responsible government finished narrowly ahead of Confederation with the Commission of Government (or some quail) well behind. At no time had a majority, a second referendum was held. This option, on July 22, 1949, Smallwood and Canada won—78,323 to 71,334 for Confederation.

Smallwood became the first premier of Newfoundland, and the benefits he had promised duly flowed to his people. By free choice, Newfoundland had united itself with its larger neighbour, and by free choice Newfoundlanders had bought into all the benefits of being Canadian.

The CBC became an icon of nationhood

"The question is the State or the Union! State," young Graham Spry told a parliamentary committee in 1932. As the passionate voice of the Canadian Radio League, Spry urged that the government create a publicly controlled and operated broadcasting system if broadcasting was to be Canadian, not American.

Radio was already American enough. By 1931, one-third of Canadians had radio receivers, and they listened to growing numbers to a regular diet of American soap operas, comedy and music. Up against the giant CBS and NBC, with their empires of stars, money and powerful transmitters, Canada could only muster 60 private outlets and a single national network, run by Canadian National Railways and on air only a few hours a week.

"We can tune in regularly to stations in Seattle, Oakland, San Francisco, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Denver, etc.," a West Coast insider of *Maclean's*

imaginatively, over the worst of the Depression.

Cultural historian Mary Vipond says Bennett became convinced that radio had potent nation-building potential. "While newspapers were local, magazines middle-class and movies purely entertainment, radio appealed to all classes, in all parts of the country, and could be successfully used not only for entertainment but for informational and propaganda purposes." This was to be the modern equivalent of the CFR, the great national midway that had lured Canadians together since the 19th century.

Nationalism was in the air. The Group of Seven were painting their bold Canadian landscapes. The country was emerging with its own foreign policy from the shadow of another Britain. French and English alike fretted about the cacophony of American mass culture directed straight at new Canada.

The CBC proved a weak reed for nationalist dreams. In 1936, it was replaced by the more effective Canadian Broadcasting Corp., and within a year the CBC was reaching 76 per cent of the population—even if it never did become the full state enterprise originally envisioned by Lord. Canadians of the 1940s and 1950s grew up with the network's sounds ringing in their ears: "Keep happy with the Happy Gang," and Foster Hewitt's "Hello Canada, and hockey fans in the United States and Newfoundland."

Governments, thinking the CBC belongs to them rather than to the people, have been among its staunch critics. From the Lester Pearson radio exiles *The Howl-His Seven Days* to recurring accusations of separatism in Radio-Canada, winter passes for independence at the CBC has often been perceived as downright bias by the politicians.

In recent years, the politicians have extracted their revenge: between 1988-1989 and 1998-1999, the CBC's annual appropriation, voted by Parliament, was slashed by 31 per cent—to \$629,715,000 from \$915,249,000 in constant 1988 dollars. The corporation's woes have been accentuated recently by labour outlets, low morale and uncertainty over changes in leadership. Some of its staunchest supporters despair, fearing Americanization of the CBC may be inevitable. That would be the final straw for all those Canadians who cherish the public broadcaster as one of our few remaining symbols of ascribed and distinctive.



Actress taps a radio drama at CBC studios in Toronto since 1936. Smallwood signs the agreement by which he believed Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949 (top), building a distinctive North American nation

wrote at the time, "but consider it an achievement to get a station at Vancouver, Victoria, Calgary or Edmonton."

The solution was state intervention. In 1929, a royal commission under Sir John Aird recommended the establishment of a national radio network under the auspices of a Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (CRBC) that would be purchased after the British Broadcasting Corp. And wanted an instrument for "fostering a national spirit and strengthening national citizenship." The recommendation was implemented three years later by Conservative K. B. Bennett, the capricious prime minister who presided, sometimes

Leduc changed Alberta's future

In the period immediately following the Second World War, the future of Alberta seemed dim. Despite its agriculture, the province's economy was stagnant and its natural-resource sector was in deep trouble. True, Tarnish Valley, located in the foothills south of Calgary, was the largest oilfield in the country, but its production was declining every year and no longer met half of the needs of even the Prairie provinces. As Elmer Fraser, the celebrated *Ottawa* editor of *Maclean's* writes, Alberta was stuck as "a 'have-not' province, chronically broke."

Shell Oil had sunk \$11 million—a considerable sum in those days—into the search for more oil, but all it got was one natural-gas well at Jumping Pound, west of Calgary. Imperial Oil had spent even more, \$25 million, and had 130 dry holes to show for it. Shell pulled out. Imperial decided to keep trying, but only for a little longer.

Imperial's next attempt, beginning in late 1946, was at Leduc, in the plains 24 km southwest of Edmonton. The miracle happened on Feb. 13, 1947. As one of the crew remembered it, a drilling site known as Leduc No. 1 started to show some signs of life shortly after 4 p.m. "I then with a roar the well came in, flowing into the pump near the rig," the worker said. "We watched it to the final line, in the fire and the most beautiful smoke ring you ever saw went floating skyward."

"Others here they'd found one of the great producing regions of North America," *Maclean's* reported. "Alberta's future changed overnight." The importance of the discovery "was not the size of that one field, considerable though it was. It was the realization that oil could be recovered from the Alberta plains."

By the end of 1947, nearly 30 wells were in production at Leduc, yielding 3,500 barrels of good quality oil a day. Here, then, was the base upon which to build an Alberta and Canadian oil industry. Other discoveries followed. At the time of the great Leduc strike, the country was heavily dependent on foreign oil, importing \$206 million dollars of it annually. Leduc and subsequent finds meant that most years Canada was a net exporter. In the words of energy historian Robert Boydell of the University of Toronto, "Alberta escaped what had looked like the long slow decline of oil industry Canada was afraid



Imperial's Leduc No. 1 in 1947: the first turned into a boom

dependence on foreign oil at the cost of many millions of dollars of foreign exchange."

Almost five years after the discovery at Leduc, Fraser returned to Alberta. The treasury was bulging, he found. Twenty million dollars was spent in 1951 on roads and bridges, and millions more on hospitals and schools. Edmonton, the oil capital, was booming, even if it had not lost as many "Yukon" appearances.

Thanks in part to generous U.S. tax laws, venture capital poured north into Alberta, while the financial elite of Eastern Canada were more timid. They had little interest in risking their capital drilling for oil and gas in Western Canada. Control of Alberta's natural resources, Fraser concluded resignedly, "and the profits thereof, have very largely passed into American hands."

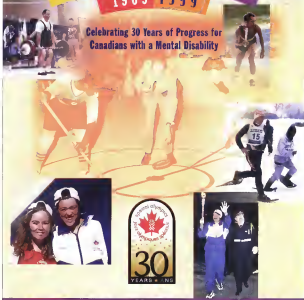
By the time Imperial finally shut down the great Leduc oilfield in 1984, it had produced in excess of 240 million barrels—making Alberta truly Canada's energy province and fueling the economic growth that created the prosperity of modern-day Alberta.

An Advertising Supplement to the July 1, 1999, issue of *Maclean's* Magazine

CANADIAN SPECIAL OLYMPICS

1969 1999

Celebrating 30 Years of Progress for Canadians with a Mental Disability



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The first ever Special Olympics Games in Canada — from left to right: Mary (Red) Foster from Kentucky representing the Kennedy Foundation; Clementia S. Campbell, president of the National Hockey League and honorary chairman of the 1989 Summer Games in Toronto and Harold E. Ballard, president of the Toronto Maple Leafs.

LET ME WIN, BUT IF I CANNOT WIN, LET ME BE BRAVE IN THE ATTEMPT.

Since the first national Games were held in Toronto in 1969, Canadian Special Olympics (CSO) has grown from a wonderful idea shared by a few visionaries into a nationwide organization dedicated to enabling more than 20,000 Canadians with mental disabilities to participate in sport training and competition.

Olympics movement first in the United States and then around the globe.

If Hayden was the messenger, the "medium" that brought the Special Olympics to Canada was Harry (Red) Foster, a Toronto sportsman, broadcaster and businessman. Throughout his life, Foster, whose brother had a mental disability, devoted much of his time, energy and wealth towards improving

life for people with mental disabilities and their families.

Given his interest, it's not surprising that Foster became intrigued by Hayden's efforts. After accompanying a Canadian floor hockey team to compete in the first Special Olympics Games in Chicago in 1968, Foster founded CSO in 1969. Thanks to the substantial financial contribution that continues to come to CSO through the Foster Foundation, Foster, who died in 1983, has helped to ensure the vitality of the organization that he began.

In 1994, Hayden became a member of Macleod's Honour Roll. Two years later he received the prestigious Royal Bank Award.

But Hayden, who now serves as a consultant for CSO, is not one to dwell on past glories. When asked to reflect on the history of the Special Olympics movement, he responds with a story.

"Last year, while I was attending a Special Olympics skating competition in Toronto, a young woman came into the arena pushing a stroller," recalls Hayden. "Her child was about four and had Down syndrome. On the front of the stroller hung a sign that read 'Future Special Olympian.' Thirty years ago, it would have been inconceivable that a parent would walk into a public place and not only announce that she was the mother of a child with a mental disability but also, beyond that, that she was looking forward to the future with great expectations. To know that I have been part of an organization that has played a part in creating that transformation gives me an enormous sense of satisfaction."

This page was provided by the Royal Bank Financial Group, supporting Canadian Special Olympics for 30 years.

What does it take to be the best?

It takes time, skill, courage and determination. If you're an athlete with mental disabilities, it's even harder. This year, our top Canadian athletes will show the world just what they can accomplish, at the 1999 Special Olympics World Games in North Carolina.

It also takes time, skill, courage and determination for parents to plan a lifetime of love and support for their children with mental disabilities.

A guidebook, *Lifelong Security for Your Child with Mental Disabilities*, developed by Royal Trust, Royal Bank, Canadian Special Olympics and Planned Lifetime Advocacy Network (PLAN), has financial strategies, practical advice and sources of information and support, to provide help — and hope — for parents and families. You can receive a complimentary copy of this guidebook from any Royal Trust or Royal Bank branch.

We wish the best life has to offer to all with mental disabilities, particularly the athletes representing Canada at the 1999 Special Olympics World Summer Games.

Good luck to Team Canada.



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**NANCY BOUQULETTE
QUEBEC**

"Money is an example to our entire family. She is a very determined person who knows how to set goals for herself and does what it takes to reach them." Franco Chevrette is speaking about her daughter, Nancy Bouquette, a member of Team Canada's athletes squad. An 18-year-old student who attends Ecole Espérance-Joncas in Joliette, Que., Bouquette is an accomplished athlete whose determination and persistence have won her acclaim – and a wall of medals – in a variety of sports including track and field swimming and Nordic skiing.

**JEREMY MULLER
NEWFOUNDLAND**

When Jeremy Muller, a 15-year-old high-school student from Turkey Hill, competes in the 50 m backstroke and 50 m freestyle swim events at the 1999 Special Olympics World Summer Games in Raleigh, N.C., embody the generous spirit and fine traditions of Special Olympics. A source of pride to their families, friends and communities, they are an inspiration to all Canadians.

**BRITA HALL
MANITOBA**

One need only step into Brita Hall's condominium in Winnipeg to discover that the 29-year-old often sinks into – and is very good at – sports. After entering living room is decorated with the medals and awards won at competitions around the world. An energetic and outgoing athlete who competes in both track and field and Nordic skiing (and who swims and hikes for pleasure), Hall has been participating in Special Olympics National and World Games since 1988. Observes Hall's mother, Enge, "Brita lives for her sports."

**DAVID LYNCH
ALBERTA**

Thirty-five-year-old David Lynch from Okla., Alta., who will participate in a number of ath-

SPECIAL OLYMPIANS

Let some very Special Olympians. Hailing from all 90 provinces as well as the Yukon and Northwest Territories, the athletes, many of whom will represent Canada at the 1999 Special Olympics World Summer Games in Raleigh, N.C., embody the generous spirit and fine traditions of Special Olympics. A source of pride to their families, friends and communities, they are an inspiration to all Canadians.



letes events at the World Summer Games in Raleigh, including shot put and the 400-m relay (no stranger to Olympic competition). In 1998, he attended the National Summer Games in Sudbury, Ont., where he won two gold and one silver medal. Says Lynch's longtime friend, Victor Meyer, "David is a person who lives his life by sharing his gifts and talents with everyone he comes in contact with. He is a world-class athlete and a world-class human being."

**PATTY CONNORS
NEW BRUNSWICK**

"Whether facing a new job or a new sports activity she eagerly rises to the challenge through dedication, hard work and commitment," says Mary Whiteway of her friend, Patty Connors. Connors, a 33-year-old resident of Woodstock, N.B., earned a spot on Team Canada after a stellar performance in track and field at the 1998 National Summer Games in Sudbury. A favourite among her fellow athletes, Connors, who has overcome a-

Purulotor is a national sponsor of the Special Olympics. Purulotor contributes to fund raising events for Special Olympics in all 10 provinces.

significant medical problems in the past, was mostly named New Brunswick Special Olympics Athlete of the Year.

**WAYNE MORTON
ONTARIO**

At six feet, two inches and 145 lbs., Wayne Morton has a near-perfect swimmer's build. No doubt, that physique has helped the 29-year-old maintenance worker from Port Elgin, Ont., to become a truly accomplished Special Olympian. A veteran of the 1994 and 1996 National Summer Games as well as the 1995 World Summer Games in New Haven, Conn., Morton is the proud recipient of \$1 medals. Says Shelley Haffey, Morton's friend and former coach, "Thanks to Special Olympics, Wayne has become much more willing to make new friends and take more chances in life."

**MEAGHAN CAMPBELL
NOVA SCOTIA**

Sixteen-year-old Halifax high school student, Meaghan Campbell, who will participate in five swimming events in Raleigh, is a real competitor. "When she was preparing for the National Games last year she trained three times a week," notes her coach, Loren Joffimont-Beltré. Campbell, who won four medals at the Nationals, has upped the pace to get ready for the Worlds. As well as swimming with the local Special Olympics club twice a week, she trains three times a week outside of Special Olympics. Still, in spite of her busy training schedule, Campbell finds time to pursue her other love – singing.

**JASON BALLANTYNE
SASKATCHEWAN**

"Special Olympics has made an absolute difference in Jason's life," says Jason Ballantyne's former teacher, Pauline Steele. "His involvement has helped him overcome his shyness – to the point where he is now able to speak at dinners and other public events." A gold-medal winner at the 1998 National Summer Games, the 23-year-old athlete, who trains with an integrated swim club in Prince Albert, Sask., will compete in five swimming events including 50-m backstroke and 400 m freestyle relay at the World Summer Games.

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This year, Canadian Special Olympics celebrates 30 years of sport excellence. This program helps Canadians with a mental disability be the very best they can be, encouraging their full participation in our society for the benefit of all Canadians. The athletes and coaches in the Special Olympics program have given Canadians good reason to be proud of our country and our society.

As Minister of Canadian Heritage, I salute Canadian Special Olympics for your commitment and dedication to young men and women who are enriching their lives through sport. Best of luck to the Canadian Special Olympics Team for your success at the 1999 Special Olympics World Summer Games in Raleigh/Durham, North Carolina.

Sheila Copps

Sheila Copps

Canada



**SUZIE SMITH
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND**

June 23, 1999, promises to be a very busy day for Suzie Smith of Kelowna, BC! That's the day that the 20-year-old graduate from Three Oaks Senior High School is ready to compete in the 50-metre freestyle event in the 1999 Special Olympics World Summer Games in Raleigh/Durham, North Carolina. It's also the day that the young woman will fly to Toronto to join up with other members of the National Team. According to Smith's mother, Paula, all 200 inhabitants of Kelowna will be rooting for the town's star athlete who will compete in the 50-metre freestyle and 50-metre butterfly events in Raleigh.

**EDWARD KAYE
YUKON**

"Edward is phenomenal," says Lynn Smith, a friend of 24-year-old Whitehorse resident Edward Kaye. This year, Kaye is an adorable individual. Since joining Special Olympics at the age of 15, Kaye, who also has cerebral palsy and who spent considerable time in hospital as a youngster, has learned to run, swim, bowl, ride a bicycle and walk a basketball. A former Yukon Special Olympics Athlete of the Year, Kaye was chosen to carry the flag for Team

**"Our motto is T-E-A-M. That stands for
Together Everyone Achieves More."**

Team Canada's Softball head coach Mary Jones



Yukon at the opening ceremonies of the 1997 North American Indigenous Games in Victoria.

**CLARA TUTCHO
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES**

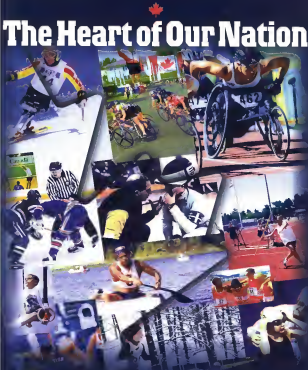
Twenty-four-year-old Clara Tutcho is making history. A year-round sportswoman, Tutcho is

This page was made possible through the generosity of Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Special Olympics of Canada and Special Olympics of Canada since 1973.

the first athlete from the Northwest Territories to attend both Special Olympics Summer and Winter National Games. At the 1998 National Summer Games in Sudbury, the young woman, who shared an apartment in Yellowknife with two roommates and two cats, competed in figure skating. "What I liked best about the trip was meeting people from all across Canada," says Tutcho who will participate in the figure skating competition at the 2000 National Winter Games in Ottawa next year.

**TEAM CANADA
SOFTBALL TEAM
BRITISH COLUMBIA**

Head coach Mary Jones is expecting great things from Team Canada's softball team at the upcoming World Games. She notes that members of the team, who live in Kelowna, Pemberton and Vancouver are in top-top shape thanks to a three-times-a-week training regimen that began last October. Besides with their players, most of whom compete in local mainstream softball leagues, also have a winning attitude. "Our motto is T-E-A-M," she says. "That stands for 'Together Everyone Achieves More.'"



Each year, more than 9 million Canadians participate in sport as athletes, coaches, officials, and volunteers.



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VOLUNTEERS: THE LIFELOOD OF SPECIAL OLYMPICS

Numbering in the thousands, volunteers, the lifeblood of Special Olympics, come from all walks of life. They range from a housewife in Victoria who moonlights as an aquatic coach, to a Halifax executive who brings his expertise to the board of Special Olympics Nova Scotia.

Yet, however varied the contribution, Special Olympics volunteers tend to have one thing in common: It's a belief that Special Olympics makes life better. Certainly, it's a belief shared by the four volunteers profiled below. Hailing from across the country, these individuals are among the group of 22 volunteer coaches and mission staff who will accompany Team Canada athletes to the Special Olympics World Summer Games in Raleigh this summer.

DINO PEDICELLI

For Dino Pedicelli, whose older sister Sandra is a person with a mental disability volunteering for Special Olympics is a long-time family affair. "My mother was one of the first regional co-ordinators for Special Olympics in Quebec," says Pedicelli, a resident of Châteauguay, Que. "Meanwhile, my wife, Cathy, whom I actually met through life experiences, is a swimmer coach for Special Olympics."

Pedicelli, now 38, has served as a Special Olympics coach since he was 13 years old. "Over the years, I've coached everything from floor hockey and swimming to track and field to cross-country skiing," he says.

A veteran volunteer of numerous Special Olympics games including the 1996 National Summer Games in Sudbury and the 1997 World Winter Games in Toronto and Collingwood, Ont., Pedicelli will serve as sport manager for Team Canada's softball team travelling to Raleigh. "My goal at the Worlds," he says "is to help the athletes have the experience of a lifetime."

SHELLY HOBBS

Shelly Hobbs, a Canada Customs officer in Folkestone, Mass., has been a Special

"As well as learning skills and becoming physically fit, Special Olympics helps individuals with a mental disability to develop self-esteem and confidence."

Shelly Hobbs, Special Olympics volunteer



Olympics volunteer since 1986. Initially an assistant coach at the local Tangle Mountain Athletic Club, Hobbs is now an experienced track and field coach with Level II certification in distance, sprints and hurdles.

Chosen as an athletics coach for the national team travelling to Raleigh, Hobbs believes that the opportunity to attend the World Games will be a uniquely rewarding experience. "The athletes will have the chance to meet people from different countries and cultures," she says.

According to Hobbs, Special Olympics athletes, regardless of ability benefit from participation in the organization. "As well as learning skills and becoming physically fit, Special Olympics helps individuals with a mental disability to develop self-esteem and confidence," she says.

RANDY GEENE

According to Randy Geene, a firefighter for the London-Grit fire department and Team Canada's aquatic head coach, his initial relationship with Special Olympics was more happenstance than plan. "While I was in college, I wanted to become more involved in volunteering, and Special Olympics had a need," he recalls.

It was a fortuitous meeting. "Special Olympics is the best organization I could

have linked up with," says Geene, who has his Level II coaching certificate in both Special Olympics and general swimming. "People say that we coaches are good role models for Special Olympics athletes. But I find that Special Olympics are terrific role models, too. They teach us to overcome the obstacle. They also demonstrate that it's important to do your best, as opposed to being the best. And Special Olympics never seem to forget that fun is a very important part of sport."

JENNIFER BENT-REICHARD

The love of sport was what led Jennifer Bent-Reichard to become involved with Special Olympics. "Sport has always played a very important part in my life," says Bent-Reichard, Fredericton-based executive director of New Brunswick Special Olympics. "I have been involved in playing sports since I was a kid and I went on to earn a degree in kinesiology at university. I believe that sport can have a very positive impact on people's lives, regardless of ability."

The Athletics Sport Manager for the National Team, Bent-Reichard notes that she has very specific goals to accomplish in Raleigh. "I will be on hand to contribute in whatever way I can to make sure the athletes have the best experience possible," she says. "For many of the athletes on the team, representing their country at the World Games will be the highlight of their sporting career."

TEAM CANADA TAKES ON THE WORLD

On June 26 before a cheering crowd of 70,000 spectators, some 7,000 athletes from 150 countries around the globe will participate in the opening ceremonies of the 1999 World Summer Games in Raleigh/Durham. Among them, dressed in distinctive red shorts, white golf shirts and black belted hats, will be 55 athletes from Canada who, along with 13 coaches and nine mission staff, comprise Team Canada. They will be led into the stadium by Honorary Coach and Barcelona Olympic Gold Medalist, Mark Tewksbury.

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Canadian Special Olympics



Over the 10 days of World Games, CSO athletes who have been chosen from all across the country and who represent various ages and ability levels, will compete in swimming, athletics, soccer, softball, target bowling, rhythmic gymnastics and power lifting.

For Emily Snyder, one of four Canadian athletes competing in rhythmic gymnastics, participating in the World Games marks the culmination of a dream – and a great deal of effort. Since last fall, the Prince George, B.C., Special Olympics has been engaged in a three-day-a-week training regimen. “In the gym, I do running and exercises to improve my flexibility,” says the 33-year-old who is also a talented downhill skier and bowler. “I also practice my floor routines.”

Snyder is not the only Team Canada athlete who has worked hard to be in top form. Thanks to the recent introduction of CSO's National Team Program, all members of Team Canada have been involved in – and benefited from – a regular and extensive training program in the months leading up to the World Games.

“The National Team Program is designed to raise the level of sport for Special Olympics athletes and coaches,” says Danielle Chateau, CSO national program co-ordinator and chief de mission for Team Canada.

As part of the National Team Program, generously supported by the federal government's Sport Canada, CSO hosted a weekend-long National Team Coach Training Session at the University of Winnipeg last October. Attended by all members of Team Canada, the event enabled National Team coaches to attend information sessions on issues ranging from nutrition to injuries and to meet athletes from all regions of the country. Notes Chateau: “Coaches had the opportunity to test the fitness of Team Canada members and design individual training programs that athletes could carry out under the supervision of monitoring coaches back home.”

The effectiveness of these training programs will be analyzed in Toronto this June when, prior to travelling to Raleigh, athletes' fitness levels will once again be measured. Says Chateau: “By formalizing training for Team Canada, we hope to give all athletes involved in the 1998 World Summer Games, as well as future international Games, the opportunity to be the best they can be.”

“We believe that every athlete, regardless of ability level, should have proper instruction. This is a fundamental principle of sport.”

Danielle Chateau, CSO national program co-ordinator



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As part of ensuring a more formal and effective athlete training program, CSO has been encouraging Special Olympics coaches across Canada to pursue higher levels of training and education. Says Danielle Chateau, CSO national program coordinator and chief de mission for Team Canada: “We believe that every athlete, regardless of ability level, should have proper instruction. This is a fundamental principle of sport.”

To realize that goal, CSO requires that coaches receive minimum certification through the Coaching Association of Canada's National Coaching Certification Program (NCCP).

It's an initiative that pleases Barb Gerry, head coach for Team Canada's rhythmic gymnastics squad. Says Gerry, an engineering technologist from Richmond, B.C., who has successfully completed NCCP Level II and III certification courses: “It's just common sense. The more knowledge and skills I have, the more knowledge and skills I can pass on to my athletes.”

This page was created by Delta Hotels and Resorts, where an annual fund-raising campaign is held for Special Olympics in Canada.

JOINING HANDS WITH THE GREATER SPORTS COMMUNITY

It is fair to say that, in the past, our organization has not encouraged an alignment with athletes with a mental disability,” says Harold Cliff, CSO of Ottawa-based Swimming/Metrex Canada (SMC). “But that is changing. It's changing because it is the right thing to do.”

The May, SMC, the national sports governing body for amateur swimming in Canada, signed a memorandum of understanding with CSO. As part of that agreement, SMC will work to make sure that CSO athletes will have the opportunity to participate in individual swim programs and competitions across the country.

SMC is not the only sporting organization to reach out and join hands with CSO. Recently, a significant number of other associations including the Canadian Figure Skating Association, Softball Canada, Curling Association of Canada and the Canadian Snowshoeing Federation have made formal commitments to build bridges with Special Olympics athletes. More good news came this spring when the Canada Games Council informed CSO that it will include athletes with a mental disability at the 2001 Canada Summer Games in London, Ont.

CSO, which has been endeavouring to open doors to the greater Canadian sport system for 16 years, welcomes the developments. “Our goal,” says Debbie Wright, CSO's national program director, “is to enable our athletes to have access to more sport training and competitive opportunities.”

As well as greater sport opportunities there is one other major benefit that arises from partnering with mainstream sport. It is that inclusion leads to greater awareness, understanding and acceptance of athletes with a mental disability within the larger community.

One young athlete is already benefiting from the more integrated environment. Thirteen-year-old Elizabeth Jordan, a Special Olympics who just happens to be the daughter of CSO president Jim Jordan, because a member of the Markham Speedsliding Club in Markham, Ont., last

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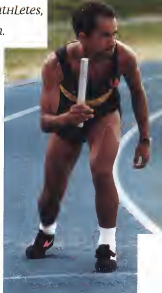
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A member of Canada's Sports Royalty, Sandy Hawkey, Special Olympics friend for 10 years.



The only athlete portrait of former Toronto Blue Jays' manager Cito Gaston with the 1985 and 1992 World Series trophies — a friend of Special Olympics for 14 years.



International wrestling champion Kristaart, friend of Special Olympics for 5 years.



Eight-time NHL All-Star Art Lundin is friend of Special Olympics for 25 years.



Wrestling: The two Olympic gold medalists and Canadian Olympians, Marlene McRae and Katherine Reckless, friends of Special Olympics for 7 years.



Entrepreneur: Member of the Order of Canada and the Order of Ontario, Guy Lafleur, friend of Special Olympics since 1975.

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Photos displayed here are for sale and are part of the Canadian Special Olympics portrait series by famous Canadian photographer Kevin Besh. Each portrait is 90" x 90" and is hand-drawn, personally autographed by the subject, and uniquely framed by Photomix Design Concepts. Cito Gaston (\$650), Brian Hilt (\$550), Sandy Hawkey (\$200), Ted Lindsay (\$500), Marlene McRae and Katherine Reckless (\$500), Guy Lafleur (\$900).

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These portraits are not for sale in any store at any price. All funds raised go directly to Canadian Special Olympics. Prices listed include Ontario courier delivery.



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ful. Says her coach, Anne Wilson, who has taught special skating to both mainstream and Special Olympics athletes for 10 years: "Lorie has done remarkably well. She has had the opportunity to improve her skills. In fact, she won three medals at the Special Olympics provincial games last winter. She has also made many new friends. The other club athletes have become Lorie's biggest cheerleaders."

THE CLUB EXPERIENCE: WHERE THE BEST HAPPENS



It's a very Canadian scene. On a balmy spring night, in a field bordered by a sturdy fence of poplar trees, a group of athletes is engaged in a game of pick-up soccer. As the players stand for the occasion in red, blue, green and white jerseys and matching shorts, complete passes across the pitch or manage to get the ball to the waiting goals, the crowd of attendant coaches, parents and fans is visible in its appreciation. "Nice one, Derrick!" "What a goal, Steve!" "Joanna scores!" "Great save, Kevin!" "Good try, Sage!"

Welcome to the Scarborough Azzurri Soccer Club, Special Olympics (swan). Founded 10 years ago by Dr. Luciano Lombardi, a Toronto family physician, the Special Olympics soccer club regularly attracts up to 50 athletes who play one night a week between May and August.

Katherine Fulford, whose 31-year-old daughter Lori has been playing for the Azzurri since the team debuted, explains why the club—indeed, why the thousands of Special Olympics clubs sporting year-round in communities across Canada—is so popular among individuals with a mental disability and their families: "One of the most difficult problems encountered by people with special needs is isolation," says Fulford. "Special Olympics helps to combat that. It provides an opportunity to socialize, to make friends and to develop a sense of belonging in the community. Along the way, people have the chance to express themselves, release tension in a healthy way and get fit."

Certainly, 21-year-old Joanna Collis has

"These individuals show how patience, courage, love and passion can help people to realize individual and team goals that once seemed unattainable."

John Claghorn, chairman and CEO of the Royal Bank of Canada

benefitted from her involvement with Special Olympics. A member of the Azzurri, Collis is also active in Special Olympics swimming, track and field and bowling clubs. Asked if she enjoys her busy Special Olympics schedule, Collis responds without hesitation: "Oh, yes. I love swimming the most. Swimming is my best sport. But I like all the Special Olympics clubs I belong to."

Jim Jordan, CSO president, is not surprised by Collis' enthusiasm: "The local clubs," he says, "are where the best stuff happens."

CORPORATE CANADA: A FRIEND INDEED

John Claghorn, chairman and CEO of the Royal Bank of Canada, is one of CSO's most passionate fans. "The staff, volunteers, parents and, above all others, the young contenders of CSO are an inspiring example to millions of Canadians," says the senior banker. "These individuals show how patience, courage, love and passion can help people to realize individual and team goals that once seemed unattainable."

According to Claghorn, it's CSO's "inspiring example" that lies at the heart of the long-term relationship that exists between CSO and Royal Bank. A contributor to the first Special

Olympics Games held in Canada in 1969, the financial institution remains a generous supporter of CSO today.

Royal Bank is one of a select group of Canadian companies who are CSO's national sponsors. Members include: Business Depot (Staples), Canadian Progress Charitable Foundation, Coca-Cola Canada Ltd., Delta Hotels and Resorts, The Foster Foundation, City Canada, Home Hardware Stores Ltd., The Loyalty Group (Air Miles), Mackenzie Financial Corp., Maclean's Magazine, Sport Canada, The Sports Collaborative Festival, The Sports Network and Toyota Canada Inc.

The cash contributions of CSO's national sponsors are used to finance an array of programs at the local, provincial, national and international levels. At the same time, many national sponsors provide valuable in-kind assistance. Coca-Cola, for instance, regularly provides soft drinks to partic-

ipants at provincial and national Games. Meanwhile, Toyota Canada and its dealers routinely make courtesy vehicles available for Games' transportation needs. Many national sponsors also encourage their employees to become involved with CSO in their local communities.

Whether the donation comes in the form of dollars, in-kind services or volunteering, the contributions of CSO's national sponsors are invaluable. Says Janine, "Without the support of our national sponsors, we would simply not be able to provide high-quality sporting programs and opportunities to so many athletes across Canada. Our national sponsors are the backbone of CSO."

FLAME OF HOPE: AN ETERNAL TRADITION

One of the highlights of the opening ceremonies of the World Summer Games in Raleigh will be the presence of some 200 runners from low self-esteem agencies around the world. Members of the Law Enforcement Torch Run, the runners will carry the "Flame of Hope" into Carter-Phipps Stadium, site of the ceremonies. Among this contingent will be eight law enforcement personnel from across Canada.

Since it was founded in Wichita, Kan., in 1981 and subsequently sponsored by the



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and great memories)

International Association of Chiefs of Police, the Law Enforcement Torch Run, which boasts 11,000 members and holds year-round activities ranging from relay runs to golf tournaments in all 10 provinces as well as the Northwest Territories, is among the most productive national Torch Run organizations. Last year, for instance, it raised an impressive \$3 million for Special Olympics programs in Canada.

Yet, according to Sgt. Peter Wehling of the Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Police Service in Ontario, Canadian coordinator for the Law Enforcement Torch Run, raising money is only a part of the Torch Run story. "The other major goal of our organization is to raise awareness of Special Olympics and to get more athletes involved in the program," he says. Wehling and his colleagues will have ample opportunity to further that goal this summer. Prior to participating in the opening ceremonies, the international representatives will travel to Washington to receive the Flame of Hope which will be flown from Greece to the occasion. They will then spend two weeks running throughout North Carolina promoting Special Olympics and the World Summer Games as part of the final leg of the Law Enforcement Torch Run.

"I expect to be tired," says Wehling. "I also expect to have a wonderful time!"

SPORTS CELEBRITIES FESTIVAL: A COAST-TO-COAST CELEBRATION

The whole country has opened its arms to us," says Les Finkel, managing director of the Special Olympics Sports Celebrities Festival (SCF). Truly, SCF is an organization with a mandate

"It's so encouraging for me to spend time with athletes and coaches and people who truly embody the genuine spirit of competition."

Mark Tewksbury, gold medal Olympic swimmer

Boston star pitcher Roger Clemens and friends at last year's Sports Celebrities Festival



to raise funds and awareness of Special Olympics. Here comes a long way since it held a small Celebrity Invitational in Toronto in 1983, an event that raised \$4,300. Today as well as the classic, day-long Sports Celebrities Festival Day held each December in Toronto, there are Sports Celebrities events ranging from dinners and auctions to golf clinics and co-ed tournaments that take place in all 10 provinces annually. Last year, SCF raised \$1.8 million for Special Olympics.

The charity of choice for over 1,000 volunteers and more than 150 corporate sponsors, SCF is also a favourite among many of Canada's best-known athletes including Olympic rower Miriam McDowell, wrestling champion Bret Hart, Indy car racer Scott Goodyear and world champion jockey Sandy Hawley and hockey legend Paul Henderson.

Michael (Phil) Clemens, running back for the Tampa Argonauts and one of SCF's starliners, explains the appeal: "You get involved instantly because you are asked," says Clemens. "But you go back because, once you walk in the door you're

hooked. Many of the individual athletes I have met through the Festival have become my lifelong friends. They are my buddies. The truth is that I get more out of my involvement with Special Olympics than I give."

The swimmers are shared by gold medal Olympic swimmer Mark Tewksbury, a longtime SCF supporter. "It's so encouraging for me to spend time with athletes and coaches and people who truly embody the genuine spirit of competition," he says. "That's all about doing your best, pushing past your own personal limits and sharing in the spirit of others around you."

CANADIAN PROGRESS CHARITABLE FOUNDATION: MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Ten years ago, Canadian Progress Club, a national service organization with 1,000 members and 40 chapters from Victoria to Corner Brook, Nfld. named CSO its national charity of choice. As part of its commitment, the organization formed the Canadian Progress Charitable Foundation with a goal of establishing a \$1 million endowment for CSO. Notes Rosalee Gaurage, chair of the Foundation. "The membership, who primarily support local causes, chose CSO because it's a well-run national organization and because it so clearly makes a huge difference in the lives of the people it serves. Canadian Special Olympics is about so much more than getting people to run around a track. It's about building self-esteem and enabling people to develop the skills that will help them become more fully participating members of society."

Now in the sixth year of an active fundraising campaign, the Foundation, which has raised a total of \$600,000 to date, is well on the way to achieving its financial objectives. It's a remarkable accomplishment, particularly given that the money raised has come entirely from Canadian Progress Club's own membership

SPECIAL OLYMPICS: THE HOCKEY CONNECTION

When Harry (Red) Foster, Toronto businessman, broadcaster and humanitarian, set about laying the foundation for CSO in the late 1960s, he sought the help of many individ-

uals including his friends in the National Hockey League (NHL).

The response was immediate. When Foster organized a Canadian Rock Hockey tour to attend the first International Special Olympics Games in Chicago in 1968, Harold Ballard, late owner of the Toronto Maple Leafs, provided the athletes with Maple Leaf jerseys. Meanwhile, Toronto Maple Leaf captain George Armstrong volunteered his services as team coach. The following year,

Garnet Campbell, late president of the NHL, served as the honorary chairman of the first CSO Games held in Toronto.

"Foster's appeal to the hockey community was an inspired choice," says Frank Selke, former executive vice-president of Hockey Hall of Fame and CSO board member. "There are many sporting organizations that have contributed to the success of Special Olympics in Canada. However, there is no question the NHL connection helped to give Special Olympics a national credibility and profile."

Three decades later, the relationship between the country's national sport and Canadian Special Olympics remains strong. Currently, scores of hockey personalities including Guy Lafleur, Maurice Richard, Ted Kennedy, Paul Henderson, Darryl Sittler, Mark Napier, Ron Ellis, Jim Mortimer, Yvan Cournoyer and Dave Gardner are regular participants in Special Olympics events.

Lanny McDonald, former star of the Calgary Flames and Toronto Maple Leafs whose relationship with Special Olympics spans three decades, points out that the benefits of the CSO-hockey partnership have been mutually rewarding. "On a personal level, I believe that Special Olympics have taught me to be a better person," says McDonald. "At the same time, I get a great deal of satisfaction when I look at how far we have come. Thirty years ago we had trouble convincing people to take time to see what Special Olympics was all about. Nowadays, Special Olympics athletes are accepted and welcomed everywhere."



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A PLAN FOR THE NEW MILLENNIUM

Canadian Special Olympics has accomplished much during its first 30 years," says Andy Krupnik, chairman of CSO's board of directors. "Continuity through providing spirit and recreational opportunity, it has helped thousands of persons with intellectual disabilities to become all that they can be - physically, mentally, spiritually, socially and emotionally - and to become accepted, respected and productive members of society. The task now is to ensure that our organization does an even better job as we move into the new millennium."

According to Krupnik, it was this desire that led CSO's governing officials to launch

The Best Buy DEPOT, Staples and Wendy En Group are all Special Olympics Charities across Canada.

Action Plan 2000 in 1994.

Created with the full participation of CSO members from all regions of the country, Action Plan 2000 identifies 21 priority goals. In scope, these range from increasing athlete participation to the implementation of a chapter accreditation program. Action Plan 2000 also calls for the establishment of national standards for sports training, a national committee on financing and fundraising and a volunteer recruitment program. To date, thanks to the efforts of CSO staff and volunteers across Canada, many of the goals established by Action Plan 2000 are well on the way to being realized.

As the initiative moves forward, Krupad points out that while Action Plan 2000 has many goals, it has but one objective: "Simply," he says, "we want to make sure that all young Canadians have the opportunity to enhance their lives through participation in sport."

CSO FOUNDATION: A GALA CELEBRATION

On June 24, 1999, a gala send-off for Team Canada to the 1999 Special Olympics World Summer Games will be held in Toronto. Among the honourees (guests will be 38 athletes and support staff belonging to the National Team as well as

Olympic gold medalist and Team Canada Hockey Coach, Mark Tewksbury.

The celebration is the first major public fund-raising initiative of the newly created CSO Foundation.

According to Brian Elborough, chairman of the Elborough Group and chair of the CSO Foundation, the Foundation was created with a very specific goal in mind: "The National Summer and Winter Games are held once every four years, so are the International Games," says Elborough. "That means a different major event every year. The size and scope of these events call for a huge investment of time, resources – and funding. The CSO Foundation, which is aiming to raise \$26 million in cash and another \$20 million in deferred gifts such as assigned life insurance policies, will build an endowment that will help CSO, as well as Canadian host towns and clubs, finance future Games."

OTTAWA: LET THE 2000 NATIONAL WINTER GAMES BEGIN

According to Peter Haydon, chair of the 2000 National Winter Games that will take place in the National Capital Region from Jan. 25 – 30, 2000, Bob O'Doherty is the perfect individual to ensure the success of the upcoming

competition. Chosen as the general manager of 2000 National Winter Games, O'Doherty has been involved for over 30 years in sport both as an athlete and administrator. "He's also totally committed," says Haydon. "Bob works for us 40 hours a week and donates another 40 hours of volunteer time."

O'Doherty's work schedule is not surprising, given the sheer amount of planning involved. Along with developing an accommodation plan for the 426 athletes, 260 coaches and support staff as well as 600 family members, organizers must raise hundreds of thousands of dollars in sponsorship money. Meanwhile, there's an official Games song, poster and mascot to decide upon.

And the frenzy, O'Doherty, who points out that the success of the Games will owe much to 1,200 volunteers who will participate during the actual five-day event, is confident that all will unfold as it should. "There's a tremendous amount of goodwill and enthusiasm for the 2000 National Winter Games in Ottawa," he says. "When the first athletes begin to arrive, we will be ready – and waiting to cheer."

The Injury Group (see story) has donated travel costs for Canadian Special Olympics and its provincial and territorial chapters since 1994.

Maclean's magazine has been a national media partner of Canadian Special Olympics since 1993, greatly extending public awareness of CSO's mission to help people with mental disabilities be all they can be, as sport and in life.

CANADIAN SPECIAL OLYMPICS

If you or your business would like more information or wish to make a contribution of time or financial support, please get in touch with our national office or your nearest provincial chapter office.

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Reciprocity, or free trade, was the major issue of the 1850s and 1860s, important in the early 1870s and, despite the National Policy of high tariffs put in place by Sir John A. Macdonald in 1878, the key issue in the 1891 election. The 1911 decision on a reciprocity agreement negotiated by the Laurier Liberal government, and once again, free trade was defined in a campaign that saw Sir Wilfrid Laurier portrayed as a disloyal Canadian because of his desire for closer trade relations with the Yankies. So potent were anti-Americanism and protectionism that more than seven decades passed before a Canadian government again sought free trade with the United States.

That government, of course, was Brian Mulroney's. There was some irony in the fact that a Conservative prime minister aimed to overturn one of the party's bedrock principles, but Mulroney—who had opposed free trade when he ran for the Tory leadership in 1983—was adamant on office. With the U.S. Congress apparently in a perpetually protectionist frame of mind, Canada needed an aggressive that would assure as many as American markets. Canadian business, eager for guaranteed access to the U.S. market, whooped and cheered and lined up to support Mulroney.

Against him was Canadian labour. To the unions, free trade meant continental rationalization of production, job losses and the virtual deindustrialization of Canada. Canadian nationalists worried too: historic show America's "mercantile destiny" to mellow up Canada. Free trade, they declared, was treason. Surprisingly, perhaps, the federal Liberals, just as ready as Mulroney to abandon laissez-faire principles, were not against free trade.

In fact, the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, reached in her 1987, was about much more than trade, most of which already moved back and forth across the border with minimal duties. The area that came mattered to the United States was foreign investment, energy and culture.

When Mulroney and President Ronald Reagan signed the FTA as Jan. 2, 1988, the issue was joined. And when the Liberal-controlled Senate refused to pass the agreement,



Breton (left) and Mulroney at the 1985 Shamrock Summit in Quebec City: can Canada retain its national identity?

Mulroney dissolved Parliament and went to the people. The issue of Canada's future in North America was to be settled once and for all.

Mulroney and his government were deeply unpopular, and the FTA initially seemed unlikely to improve their lot. Liberal TV advertisements against the deal were powerfully effective, and Liberal leader John Turner scored points in the leaders' debate on television. Neoliberal groups argued vehemently against the deal. At Mel Harp, the Alberta author and former publisher put it, the FTA meant "Goodbye distinct Canadian values, hello American."

But Mulroney didn't panic, and the Conservatives benefited enormously from an advertising campaign supported by business supporters of the FTA. They won the Nov. 21, 1988, election with a substantial majority.

At first, the critics' worst fears appeared to come true. Plants moved south, jobs disappeared in wholesale loss and unemployment rose. A deep recession weakened nations. But Canada's trade with the United States increased dramatically. Canada now is part of a continental market, a situation that was formalized when Mexico was added to the free-trade move in 1994. But whether Canada values and Canadian a free-tradeism can survive for long still remains to be seen.

The Centennial and Expo

In 1967, Canadians gave themselves a spectacular year-long 100th birthday party. "From coast to coast," Pierre Berton enthuses in his book *1967: The Last Good Year*, "the country went centennial crazy as each community tried to compete with its neighbours in the scope and magnificence of the birthday bungee. The nation indulged in an orgy of sports events, folk dancing, historical pageants, parades and youth exchanges."

Governments joined in. Art galleries, arenas, theatres and town halls were erected as centennial projects by provinces and municipalities, usually with matching contributions from Ottawa. The federal government built the National Arts Centre in the heart of the capital as its own special enterprise and launched the Centennial Train, a travelling museum of Canadian history with a whistle that played the opening of *O Canada*.

The purple train was greeted at each provincial border by musician Bobby Gimby, who was hired by the federal government to promote the Centennial for 16 months. His stadium song, *Canada*, was written to evoke sentimental patriotism. Everywhere he went, with his Dad Piper's disk and sparkling trumpet, Gimby was followed by a line of singing girls and boys. Canadians snapped up 200,000 copies of the recording.

As the centre of the national celebration was Montreal's glittering Canadian Universal and International Exhibition—Expo 67. It almost didn't happen. Preparations began

Canada came of age in the second half of the century. They were years of great pride and achievement.



late. Montreal Mayor Jean Drapeau and the capable team of engineers and builders had to deal with huge obstacles along the way, not least the challenge of creating islands in the St. Lawrence River to serve as the site. But the world's fair came together, all in a rush, brilliantly.

Sixty-two countries were represented at Expo 67, and it attracted more than 50 million visitors. The theme, devised upon by a group of intellectuals that included writer Gabrielle Roy and scientist Tasso Wilson, was "Man and his world." Expo was a true groundbreaker—in architecture with Moshe Safdie's Habitat 67 and Buckminster Fuller's geodesic dome, in film with *Iran* and in design with a clean, unified vision.

The Washington Post concluded that "Canadians, whose ego, individualism and sense of personal worth have long suffered in the shadow of the colossus of the south, will take a prideful look in the mirror and exclaim, 'We did it!'"

Fireworks mark the 100th birthday on Parliament Hill; spectacular pavilions at Expo 67 attracted 62 countries and more than 50 million visitors (right). "We did it!"



Something else was happening as Canada came of age that memorable year. A half-hour after Prime Minister Lester Pearson lit the centennial flame on Parliament Hill at midnight on Jan. 1, a seismic bomb of the separatist *Front de libération du Québec* exploded in a Montreal mall. This was the dark underbelly of Québec's Quiet Revolution, and not in the least representative of public opinion.

But Québec nationalists were growing fast. French president Charles de Gaulle, visiting to mark the Centennial, tipped into that vein by proclaiming on a huge audience at Montreal city hall: "Vive le Québec. Vive le Québec libre." De Gaulle was sure packing by Pearson, shocked by his interference in Canadian internal affairs, but the cheers that greeted the war hero of France still reverberate today.

Nevertheless, the Centennial and the world's fair brought out a new Canadian pride and confidence. As author-journalist Peter C. Newman exclaimed after a visit to Expo: "The more you see of it, the more you're overwhelmed by a feeling that if this is possible, that if this sub-Arctic, self-obsessed country of 20 million people can put on this kind of show, then it can do almost anything."

The Quiet Revolution changed Quebec forever

One of the most turbulent periods in Canada's coming of age, as the nation evolved into a modern, secular industrial state, occurred in Quebec in the 1960s, during what is known as the Quiet Revolution. Across the province, Quebecers turned away from the Catholic Church and toward the state—a movement that, combined with nationalism, produced a potent force that changed the province forever. "Moons in our own house," became one of the favourite slogans of the new Quebec.

It was a time of social and political upheaval—a revolution that was quiet in name only. As historian

symbol Hydro Quebec. And with that symbol, a new political star was born—the enigmatic, charismatic René Lévesque, the Liberal cabinet minister (and former socialist politician) who was the architect of the energy policy.

Suddenly, Quebec had the initiative and the passion. Ottawa was not back on its heels, confronted by demands from Quebec City for more power, more status, more money, more autonomy. A few Quebecers began to demand independence itself.

In response, the federal Prime Minister government established the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which warned that Canada was passing through the greatest crisis in its history. And Pearson moved in 1965 to increase his party's credibility in the new Quebec by recruiting the ministers of Jean Marchand, Gérard Pelletier and Pierre Elliott Trudeau—The Three Wise Men, as they were quickly dubbed.

Trudeau himself became prime minister in 1968, at a time when French was a second-class language in the federal government. He immediately instituted an official language policy designed to make French as much the language of the national government as English. Popular in his home province, he nonetheless made his reputation in the rest of Canada as a leader who was prepared to be tough on Quebec and to insist on more serious demands.

The apparently endless debate over Canada's future, which began with the Quiet Revolution, has stopped and destabilized the country. Too often it has seemed as if the Canada-Quebec dialogue is the main

task of the country. The economy has suffered from uncertainty over the direction of the province and country. The backlash to francophone nationalism has often revealed the worst side of English Canadians, while in Quebec there are some who see two levels of citizenship, with the French on top and everyone else far down the scale. Outside the country, foreigners, watching Lucien Bouchard's Parti Québécois set the stage for yet another referendum, almost exclusively associate Canada with "the Quebec problem."

Yet the Quiet Revolution modernized Quebec and strengthened the French language. Quebec's resurgence brought the French flag forcibly to the attention of Canadians across the country, so that hundreds of thousands of families have enrolled their children in immersion programs. Challenged constantly by the threat of breakup, Canadians value their country more than ever before.



Ramsey Cook notes, Quebec was in ferment, "a noisy and controversial place" where the crowd could be heard "of builders reconstructing, a society"

The spirit and political engine of the Quiet Revolution was the Liberal government of Jean Lesage, elected in 1960 and defeated in 1966. With strong ministers and confidence to burn, the Lesage team promoted the welfare state and overhauled the education system in just six short years. It expanded the role of the government exponentially. It carved out an international presence for Quebec. Perhaps more important, it nationalized the provincial power companies to create a great collective



The new flag is raised on Parliament Hill in 1965; a bitter battle

was the highest priority of Pearson's minority Liberal government, which took office in April, 1963. Within a year, however, the administration was in trouble on several fronts, and the prime minister decided the country needed distraction and an injection of patriotism. It was time for the flag.

A small flag debate dominated the Commons for an month, with Conservative leader John Diefenbaker and other traditionalist MPs obstructing the flag legislation every way they could. Pearson forwarded three red maple leaves on a white background with blue bars in the sides to represent the Atlantic and the Pacific. Diefenbaker rebuffed the "Pearson pennant." A group of academics made public their "despairing feeling" that a maple leaf flag was inept and "will subtly undermine the Canadian will to survive." Hundreds of designs flowed in from across the country, and the battle of the symbol was on. Was there to be a fleur-de-lis? A beaver? The Canada goose? Cracked hockey sticks and pails? *Compost?*

Finally, it came down to three possibilities: the Red Ensign, the three-leaf red leaf, or a large red maple leaf with red bars on a white background. Although a parliamentary committee endorsed the single maple leaf, Diefenbaker fought on. But he was dismayed by his MPs from Quebec. Sensing victory, the Liberals moved to cut off debate by invoking clause to force a vote in the early hours of Dec. 15, 1964. In one of the most dramatic moments in parliamentary history, MPs who supported the new flag joined in singing O Canada, while the diehards responded across the aisle with God Save the Queen.

On Feb. 15, 1965, the flag was raised for the first time in front of the largest crowd to assemble on Parliament Hill since the end of the Second World

Look, we finally got a flag!

Lester Bowles Pearson had been a soldier, a diplomat and a Nobel Peace Prize winner, 40 under the British flag or the Red Ensign, featuring Britain's Union Jack. As foreign minister in 1946, he felt humiliated when Egypt's President Gamal Abdel Nasser refused to have Canada's Queen's Own Rifles in parades in the Sudan because they bore the Red Ensign and were very British-looking uniforms. Canada was almost 100 years old, yet it did not have an official flag of its own.

McMahon King, who was prime minister most of the time from the 1920s to the 1940s, liked the notion of a distinctly Canadian flag as a symbol of Canadian nationhood. But only in theory. In practice, the urge was too emotional and divisive. Although the Red Ensign was rejected by French Canada, many anglophones would accept nothing else.

When he became prime minister, Pearson promised, Canada would have its own flag. The flag was admirably

W.A. Delancey minister Paul Hellyer watched, recording in his diary: "This will be Pearson's greatest achievement."

Pearson agreed. In a 40-year public career, the flag was his proudest accomplishment. It went with him when he was carried to his burial place in Wakefield, Que. When Diefenbaker died, both the old and new flags were placed on his coffin in a final gesture of defiance. Dief's beloved Red Ensign was, at his interment, placed so that it covered part of the hated Maple Leaf flag.

Those ancient battles are long forgotten. Today, the flag is Canada's most recognizable symbol—seen on backpacks, worn by schoolchildren, flown at homes and corporations in a profusion that belies quiet Canadians. Montreal mayor Chris Young of Quebec, Oct. 5, writes he saw the flag flown on Canada Day 1965, in Trafalgar Square in London—"I'm not as overly emotional individual, but I still get a bit weepy thinking about the pride I felt then, pride that has never diminished."

Who will ever forget The Goal?

Canadians were confident—and why not? Sure, the Soviet Union had been regularly whipping Canada at world and Olympic hockey championships. But this would never be represented by first-class professionals, mostly sending scores of amateurs who had little hope of ever making the National Hockey League. Now, in September, 1972, there would be an eight-game showdown between the Soviet national team and a group of Canadians drawn from NHL clubs. Their best against our best. This time Canada must win, would win.

"I had to play, it had become a matter of national pride," said the Boston Bruins star center Phil Esposito, a native of South St. Marie, Ont., who had scored a record 26 goals during the 1970-1971 NHL season. "It was our society against theirs, and as far as we were concerned, it was a status war."

In the first game, at the Montreal Forum, Esposito scored 30 seconds into the contest and the Toronto Maple Leafs' Paul Henderson upped it to 2-0 before seven minutes had passed. But by the end of the first period, the score was tied and the Canadians realized the Soviets were going to be formidable. Montreal Canadiens' Yvan Cournoyer exclaimed to a teammate: "You can't believe their strength and conditioning." The Soviets won the game decisively, 7-3.

"We were amazed by what we were seeing," recalled Minnesota North Star's J. B. Frieser from Smooth Rock Falls, Ont. "It only felt like an outsider with the way the Russians handled the puck and the speed they had. I mean, we were all just thinking, 'Holy Cripes! It was like the world was coming to an end.'"

Game 2 was in Toronto two days later. Team Canada played tight defensive hockey, got good goaltending from Esposito's brother Tony, and won 4-1. Game 3 in Winnipeg was a 4-4 tie, but when the score was 5-3 in Vancouver, Canadian fans booed their hero. Phil Esposito told the television audience the tears were hurt and angry by the crowd's response. "We're doing our best."

The series shifted to Moscow, with Communist party secretary General Leonid Brezhnev in attendance for Game 5. The Soviets edged Canada 3-4 and had three victories to Canada's one with one game tied. Canada could not lose again and still win the series. The NHL players, their conditioning improving as the Summer Series went on, registered tight wins in Games 6 and 7, with Henderson



Henderson (center) wins it as we score number 12, momentarily

scoring the winning goal both times. Everything would be riding on the series finale.

Moscow, Sept. 28, Game 8. Canada trailed 5-3 at the beginning of the final period, but goalie Ken Dryden could not find a negative feeling anywhere in the dressing room. Esposito scored early in the third frame and set up the tying goal by Cournoyer a little past the midway mark of the period. Then, in a chaotic last minute of play, Cournoyer rebounded the puck to Henderson who was barely able to get off a shot before falling into the boards behind the Soviet net. Esposito retrieved the puck and fired it at goaltender Vladimir Titov. Titov kicked the puck out. Back on his feet, Henderson grabbed the rebound and fired along the ice. Titov stopped that, too, but Henderson took his own rebound and tipped the puck into the net.

THE GOAL, as the legendary Montreal sportswriter Red Fisher called it, the most famous goal in Canadian hockey history, had been scored with only 34 seconds remaining. It won the game 6-5 and the series 4-3-1.

Close though it was, the celebration was on, and the series proved as a masterpiece of Canadian nationalism three decades later. But the question that Jack Ludwig posed in an article in *Maclean's* in December, 1973, was right on the money: "We're number 1, right? But for how long?"

Adopting a Constitution—without Quebec

Making federalism complicated is a national specialty. Canadians had a Constitution, embedded in a British statute called the British North America Act, right from the start. As Canada slowly achieved its independence after the First World War, however, nobody could quite figure out a way for Canada to get control of its Constitution. In order to "pursue" the Constitution, a formula had to be devised to allow the document to be amended. That means negotiating an agreement between the federal government and the provinces. Otherwise, the BNA Act would remain in Britain, and Canadian politicians would have to approach London, cap in hand, to request constitutional changes.

It was not until 1981, following more than a half-century of trying, that agreement was finally reached on an amending procedure. Even then, the government of Quebec did not concur—and it still doesn't.

Spurred by the Queen in April, 1982, the Constitution had a new interpretation ascribed: the *Pierre Trudeau-inspired* Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The charter largely unattached certain well-entrenched perspectives of citizenship, such as the freedom of association and expression and the right to a fair trial. More contentious, in part because they were so vaguely worded, were guarantees of aboriginal rights, racial equality and "the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians."

In the words of Marcello Kincaid J. M. Bussard, the charter "was somewhere less concerned than the American Bill of Rights to define the individual rights of Canadians, and somewhat more concerned to delineate between collective rights." This effort to balance between individual and collective rights is reflected in Section 15 of the charter. Every individual is accorded the right to the equal protection and benefit of the law without discrimination based on sex, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or disability. But no law, program or activity is prohibited that has the objective of bearing the conditions of disadvantaged groups or individuals.

Many of the hundreds of *Maclean's* readers who nominated the charter as one of the century's crucial events claimed that the ban since 1962 has been in favour of non-whites, criminals and other minorities. Aneta Jermolova of Victoria wrote: "While undoubtedly human rights abuses occurred before, I believe that we were overwhelmed in protecting the rights of those who yell the loudest, often at the expense of the 'right' of the average Canadian."

Other readers echoed Alberta Premier Ralph Klein's

more asinine claim that there is now too much "judge-made law" in Canada. As Dan Severn of St. Thomas, Ont., put it: "Our Parliament is no longer superior; parliamentary sovereignty has been replaced by judicial decisions which override laws passed by Parliament."

Recent Supreme Court rulings on gay rights and aboriginal land claims lend apparent weight to the critics' arguments. And in January, a British Columbia judge used the charter to rule that the possession of child pornography was consistent with freedom of expression, igniting an explosion of criticism.



Trudeau (left), Jean Chrétien and the Queen at the signing in 1982: the charter has provoked controversy

Yet the Supreme Court's charter decisions are much more controversial than usually depicted. An Osgoode Hall Law School study found that the court struck down laws in only nine of 76 charter cases from 1986 to 1989—and it usually gave legislatures plenty of room to modify the law without changing its thrust.

One side-effect of the charter, too, has been to turn judges into public figures. This has led to fiercer concerns about judicial activism, as judges in various provinces find themselves in hot water with controversial comments about women, nations and other subjects.

The Great Depression

Compared with other countries, Canada has been exceptionally fortunate to avoid catastrophes, natural and manmade. But we have not escaped entirely, and no account of the century would be complete without mention of some of our dark times.

Seventy years after it began, the Great Depression remains very much alive in the Canadian memory. The hardships of the Great War had been succeeded by the booming Twenties, and many people had made fortunes. But the 1930s were a time of trial and deprivation for a nation that had no government social welfare programs and one that relied on the charity of churches and goodnights to keep the poor from starving.

Beginning in the summer of 1929, the economic downturn gathered momentum with the "great crash" on Wall Street in October. For four years, conditions grew steadily worse until, in the spring of 1933, a slow economic upswing began. This uneven recovery excluded the unemployed and Prairie farmers, and it was interrupted by another severe recession in 1937-1938. Only the economic stimulus provided by the Second World War finally pulled Canada out of the mire.

The Depression cut Canada's grain national product by 42 per cent between 1929 and 1933. It reduced industrial activity in 1933 to 57 per cent of the 1929 level and it wiped out extraordinary prices. Imports fell to 30 per cent of their 1928 level. On the Prairies, "King Wheat" was devalued. The price of a bushel of wheat that had averaged \$3.43 in the last half of the 1920s was

54 cents in 1932, the lowest price in history. At the same time, grasshoppers and drought reduced yields from 18 bushels an acre to 14. The effect was catastrophic—net cash income from Prairie agriculture in 1932-1933 was a mere 28 per cent of what it had been four years earlier.

In the east, the story was almost as bleak. Declining wheat shipments caused the railways to lay off men. Manufacturers watched their sales dwindle—no one had

any money—and responded by cutting their workforce. Corporations saw profits shrink to nothing and reduced wages, savings and debts. The result was huge unemployment. The jobless rate in the last year of the boom had been 4.2 per cent. In 1933, it was 26.6 per cent, and 1.4 million urban

Canadians and up to a half million farm residents were on relief. Saskatchewan, most dependent on wheat, was hardest hit—more than 200,000 people depended on the Saskatchewan Relief Commission for the bare necessities of life. The Canadian population in 1931 was 10.4 million, so almost 20 per cent were effectively destitute.

But it was an ill wind that did not bring good news for some. During the Depression prices dropped, and those with fixed incomes benefited. A pensioner could purchase, and mid-level federal civil servants in Ottawa, despite a 10-per-cent pay cut, easily lived on their salaries from the depressed Guinness region across the Ottawa River. John David Eason, of the then-great department store chain, obviously recalled that "you

could take your girl to a supper dance at the hotel for \$10, and that included the bottle and a room for you and your friends to drink it in. I'm glad I grew up then. It was a good time for everybody. People learned what it means to work."

But most of the unemployed couldn't find work. Some men took to riding the rails on freight cars. Many ended up in British Columbia because of its warmer climate, and some went away to political agitators. "The menace of single men," as some called it, troubled the federal Conservative government of R. B. Bennett, which set up relief camps run by the army. The pay was 20 cents a day—and the men derisively called themselves "The Royal Twenty-Centmen." In 1935, they staged a march on Ottawa. Beginning in British Columbia, the march was backed up by RCMP clubs in Regina. No one had any answers to the economic mess.

In many cases, these unemployed single men became the soldiers of the Second World War, fighting for a system that had let them down. During the war, the federal government introduced unemployment insurance and family allowances, and in 1945 it declared full employment to be government policy. The system, if not completely fixed, at least had been reformed.



A hurricane called Hazel

It wasn't technically a hurricane by the time it anchored the Canadian side of Lake Ontario late on Oct. 18, 1954. But Hurricane Hazel, which began off Canada in the Caribbean and caused at least 500 deaths as it swept across Haiti and the East Coast of the United States, was still carrying enough punch to destroy lives and property. Moreover, as Toronto broadcaster and author Betty Kennedy explains in her moving book on the subject, Hazel was tracking towards "a city that had never known even a slowing hurricane, in an area where no hurricane had a logical right to be, on a path unheard-of for a tropical storm."

The Toronto region, the most heavily populated area of the country, was unprepared. Weather reports mentioned the coming hurricane, but did so in such a matter-of-fact way that few expected a catastrophe. Rain and bad weather was predicted, sure enough, but not winds of 55 m.p.h. gusting to 72, propelling heavy rain like bullets. Not only inches of rain in the 300 square miles of the Humber River watershed. Not 83 deaths and vast property damage, estimated by Kennedy at \$400 million in 1979 dollars. And all in a matter of hours.

Bricks and roofs were scattered. Rivers, one oakshole asunder, became like "fast-moving freight trains." The vast agricultural land of the Holland Marsh, north of Toronto, as another recalled with a shudder, was "just one big lake. All you could see in the distance sticking out of the water was the spire of the Spinghead Christian Reform Church."

Five volunteer firemen lost their lives in the Humber. Not far away, Hazel struck Bayview Drive so hard that it obliterated the street, killing 36 people and leaving 60 families without a home. Hazel hit Brimley, Bloor, Woodbridge and Ossington—moving in fit march as Bruce County's cottage area. In Southwington, a train was derailed on its side a short distance from the station. Passenger Bertha Whitaker scalded the windows disintegrating. "It was sitting there with the water tapping around me and blood running down my face. I sat there and prayed, for an indefinite time, until the firemen rescued me."

At the foot of the train, engineer Gordon McCollum and fireman Stewart Nicholson were unable to escape from the cab. Hazel did what the boiler burst.

Like Hazel in 1954, severe floods in the Saguenay district and Maricopa and the 1998 ice storm in Quebec. New



Demonstrations in the Humber Valley in 1954, rain like bullets

Brunswick and eastern Ontario demonstrated nature's savage contempt for modern technology. In the ice room, the highly populated area of Montreal's South Shore was robbed of power for up to a month. More than 200 Quebec communities declared a disaster, and the National Capital Region and about 60 municipalities in eastern Ontario announced a state of emergency. Emergency accommodation was found for 100,000 people in Quebec, 21,000 in New Brunswick and at least 10,000 in Ontario.

Gravel and cranes were always in evidence during natural disasters, but generosity and volunteerism ran much more common. In the aftermath of Hazel, the Red Cross and Salvation Army fed and lodged victims of the hurricane while the military helped with the often grim task of mopping up. Acting Sgt. Fred Kelly and soldiers from Camp Borden divided flooded areas around the Lambton Golf Club, sliding row boats as they dragged the Humber River with poles. "Fred Kelly's work held special interest," Kennedy reports, "for he knew that his 16-year-old brother was among those drowned."

The military, with its ability to mobilize quickly and in strength, is an increasingly important and welcome component of disaster relief. Operation Recognition, mounted during the 1998 ice storm, was the largest peacetime deployment of the Canadian Forces. Some of the communities affected did not want to let the soldiers leave when their work was finished.

The natural catastrophes that punctuate our existence may be regional in character, but their impact is national. They are a reminder that the country is more than an assortment of place names. It is a community, no matter what may divide Canadians.

Standing up to the FLQ terrorists

It struck like a bolt out of the blue. Canadians, both English- and French-speaking, were shocked when the news came through on Oct. 5, 1970: James Cross, a British trade official in Montreal, had been kidnapped by armed men who proclaimed themselves members of the *Front de libération du Québec*. Their demands for his return included a ransom of \$500,000 in gold, liberation of "political prisoners," safe passage out of the country and publicity for the FLQ manifesto, a quasi-Marxist mishmash of grievance and idealism. Five days later, Quebec's labour minister Pierre Laporte was snatched in front of his own house. "Who no one else!"

The October Crisis sprang out of the Quiet Revolution that had rapidly modernized Quebec and out of the impatience of



Soldiers pass Montreal's city hall, one month where Laporte's body was found (right): using the War Measures Act

search towards Quebec independence. Since the early 1960s, amateur bombings had been planned in Montreal and Quebec City, assassins had been raised for weapons, and there had been several deaths. Now, the FLQ had escalated the apparatus.

In Ottawa, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau was not one to trifle with terrorists. A philosophical neo-anarchist, Trudeau believed in Quebec's participation in Canada as a full partner, and to him terrorism was anathema. His government flatly refused the FLQ's demands.

Although polls showed almost no public support for the kidnappers' methods, opinion-split in the media, the trade unions and the political class in Quebec were divided. On Oct. 14, a group of prominent figures including Parti Québécois leader René Lévesque and *Le Devoir* publisher Claude Ryan issued a statement calling for an "exchange of the two hostages for the political prisoners." At the same time, radical students called for a student strike in support of the FLQ. This situation seemed to be slipping out of control.

On Oct. 15, Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa asked Ottawa to send troops into Montreal and Quebec City. The next day, Trudeau proclaimed the War Measures Act, a First World War statute that gave the government extraordinary powers to arrest anyone it deemed to pose a threat to public order. By noon the first day more than 150 people had been arrested, and another 300 were jailed by evening—a list that included singer Pauline Julien and writer-activist Pierre Vallières. People concerned about the War Measures Act, Trudeau declared, should "not however be obsessed by what the government has done today in response to invasion that they forget the opening play in this vicious game." In Quebec and Canada as a whole, polls showed enormous support for the government.

The FLQ response to the government's actions, however, was to murder Pierre Laporte on Oct. 17. The assassin's body was found in the trunk of a car in the Montreal suburb of St-Hubert, and an elated FLQ Trudeau truly told the country how Laporte had been "covertly assassinated by a band of criminals."

The crisis continued and the troops remained on the streets of Montreal into December. A negotiated deal on Dec. 3 freed Cross and allowed his captors to go to Cuba in exile. On Dec. 28, the police caught Laporte's assassins.

Options may vary on the way Trudeau dealt with the October Crisis, but of one thing there is no doubt: they have been no terrorist bombings, no kidnappings and no political assassins since he sent such clear messages.



Oct. 15, 1970: Police in Montreal

The cod were gone, the fishery closed

On July 2, 1992, fisheries minister John Crosbie announced the closure of the northern cod fishery at a news conference in St. John's, Nfld. The irony was telling. Crosbie was Newfoundland's minister, its chairman. His family had become rich from fish. The closing of the fishery was the biggest moment of a 30-year political career. He turned a trailer to his people.

As Crosbie spoke, fishermen who had been barred from the coast attempted to break down the doors to get inside. But the minister did not need that reminder of how serious his action was. On a scale of disasters, he admitted cynicism in his remarks, the removal of the cod from the Newfoundland economy was comparable to dismantling the more successful manufacturing sector from southern Ontario overnight.

The beautiful cod had been king for centuries. In the early 1900s, Europeans were amazed that the fish was plentiful enough to be shipped from the waters in basins. Cod was the mainstay for the commerce and development of Newfoundland and the Labrador coast, and a significant factor in the livelihood of the Nova Scotia coast as well.

Even in 1992, after years of cuts in the government-imposed Total Allowable Catch, the northern cod was still the biggest single fishery on the East Coast—worth \$700 million to the Canadian economy and accounting for \$1,000 jobs directly or indirectly, most of them in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Now that was an end. True, Crosbie had undertaken a two-year moratorium only but it was extended as the evidence proved it to demonstrate that the northern cod was not coming back. The stocks had plummeted in 1991 by one-half from the previous year, then dropped by two-thirds between 1991 and 1992, by three-quarters from 1992 to 1993, and by four-fifths between 1993 and 1994. Cod had been fished to "commercial extinction."

In the sobering phase of the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization.

There was plenty of blame to go around. Modern techniques had produced highly sophisticated ships with the capacity to dredge up huge and often indiscriminate catches. Vessels from

Canada and elsewhere overfished with ruthless abandon. Scientists, marine biologists, had been over-optimistic in their forecasts of stock sizes. And politicians, says Crosbie, had an understandable inclination "to put the interests of fishermen—who were voters—ahead of the cod, who weren't."

The fishermen received substantial help from Ottawa, notably the \$1.9-billion TACS program (The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy), which ran from 1994 to 1998. In fact, such aid packages was consistent with a pattern of federal financial assistance going back many years. Unemployment insurance had long been a big part of the Newfoundland and Nova Scotia economies. "In recent years," Crosbie asserts, the fishermen's "economic survival has depended less on the fish they caught than on their ability to qualify for financial support programs."

There has been some recent good news about crab and shrimp harvests in Newfoundland and increases in halibut numbers on Georges Bank off Nova Scotia. On the Pacific coast, however, a drastic drop in some salmon stocks was exacerbated by a seven-year dispute with the United States, which was only settled in June.

The bigger truth is that our oceans have been added to the world's increasingly long list of endangered species. At the Harris Point on the northern coast problems put it a decade ago, there is a choice to be made. Canada and the international community can opt for environmental integrity or "we will obviously suffer the terrible disaster that we will undoubtedly deserve to have visited upon us."



Surrendered by police, Crosbie goes to announce the closure in St. John's, inviting disaster



Feminists risk a wounded student in an ambulance in a spotlight on feminist women

seeing, spotlight on brutality towards women. Two years after the massacre, however, the respected columnist George Burt questioned the emotional (and he thought sexist) manner in which the event was being remembered and memorialized: a "madman's killing of 14 young women has been transformed into a symbol of something much larger."

Canadians, he contended, were too far from hearing "inspiring and a massive sort of moral all-mans-are-equal fervor." In his view, the problem was one of violence to society as a whole. But although Statistics Canada reported that beatings, robberies and murders had increased by 50 per cent during the 1980s, sexual assault cases were actually up even more dramatically.

The Montreal Massacre had directly to a rewriting of federal gun laws. Heidi Radtke, an Ecole Polytechnique student who had been at school the night of the killing, co-founded the Coalition

for Gun Control after graduation. Concerned that "we're beginning to resemble the United States," Radtke worked actively at the time until Parliament in 1995 passed Justice Minister Alex Rock's legislation, which included provisions for the licensing and registration of firearms.

Inevitably, some deplored the diagnosis that controls on the availability of guns would make Canada a safer place. Although Prime Minister Jean Charest has said the National Rifle Association is an *opinion* organization, Canada does not seem, the rhetoric of that organization was much in evidence in the post-Montreal Massacre debate. Guns didn't kill people, people killed people, and gun control wouldn't prevent bad people from getting their criminal hands on guns. The government, argued the NRA and its supporters, was penalizing responsible Canadians by over-regulation, and wasting effort and resources that would be better directed to the prevention of crime. And really, deep down, didn't the government want to confiscate everyone's guns? Or so the argument went.

On the edge of the millennium, school killings are frighteningly commonplace. The Ecole Polytechnique massacre, and this year's fatal shooting at W. R. Myers High School in Tabor, Alta., serve to remind us that Canadians are far from immune to the deadly contagion. ■

The massacre at the Ecole Polytechnique

"You are all a bunch of feminists, and I hate feminists," Marc Lépine yelled in his usual 303 of the yellow truck Ecole Polytechnique at the Université de Montréal. Brandishing a 223-caliber Remington-Union Metallic Rifle, he segregated the women engineering students from the men. He ordered the 50-odd men to leave, and they did. Within moments in that early evening of Dec. 6, 1989, six women had been murdered. When he finished his 20-minute rampage through the building, Lépine had injured 13 people and killed 14. All of the dead were women. He then turned the gun on himself, so his suicide note was the major testimony to a holocaust. Clearly he had been the victim of abuse in a child, clearly he saw women as the root of his troubles, even though it was, apparently, his father who had created him as a vicious.

Lépine was the worst single-day mass murder in Canadian history (but it was the brutal tragedy of the sex that was so striking and horrifying. The killings turned a

Survival, Then and Now

By Margaret Atwood

*As Canada's international writing superstar, Margaret Atwood has won more than 50 major awards, from the Governor General's Award for her first book of poetry, *The Circle Game*, in 1966, to the Giller Prize for her latest novel, *Alias Grace*, in 1996. Surprisingly, only the Swedish *Hansas Association*, which honoured her with its *International Phenomena Writer Award* for *The Robber Bride* in 1995, has explicitly recognized one of her most attractive qualities. In this essay, the 59-year-old author turns her finely honed wit on a topic she effectively deflected nearly three decades ago: Canadian literature.*

In 1972, I wrote and published a book called *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*, which ignited a firestorm debate and became, as they say, a runaway best-seller. This was a shock to everyone, including me. Canadian writing, interesting? Among the bulk of readers at that time it was largely unknown and among the cognoscenti it was frequently treated as a dietary joke, an anachronism, a big yawn, or the hole in a non-existent doughnut.

At the beginning of the '60s, the usual sales of poetry books numbered in the hundreds, and a novel was doing well if it hit a thousand copies. But over that decade, things changed rapidly. After the warlike '60s and the beige '50s, Canada was showing a renewed interest in its own cultural designs. The Canada Council began supporting writers in earnest in 1965. In Québec, the Quiet Revolution had generated an outburst

of literary self-will; in the ROC (the Rest of Canada as we call it now but did not then), many poets had emerged through coffee houses and public readings, more novelists and short-story writers were becoming known, and *Esopo* (6), the Montreal world's fair, had created a fresh national self-confidence. Audiences had been budding steadily, and by 1972 there was a critical mass of readers who wanted to hear more; and thus, through a combination of good luck, good timing and good reviews, *Survival* became an "overnight publishing sensation," and I myself became an instant media monster. "Now you're a target," Fiecky Mowla said to me, "and they will shoot at you."

How precise he was. Who could have suspected that this modest cultural artifact would have got so thoroughly up the noses of my elites and betters? If the book had sold the 3,000 copies initially projected, nobody would have bothered that

Canada's premier woman of letters takes a razor-sharp look at the state of Canadian literature

books much about it, but in the first year alone it sold 10 times that number, and suddenly *CanLit* was everybody's business. The few dedicated academic snobs who had cultivated this neglected purplish patch over the many years were affronted because a mere child of a girl had appropriated a purplish daisy regarded as their own, and the rest were affronted because I had eloquently pointed out that there was in fact a purplish to appropriate. Even now, after 27 years, some Jack or Jackie snobs with insatiable regularity to take one more crack at me, the supposed Giant, in a never-ending game of Let Us New Borne Feminist Women. You get so fed like the mechanical duck at the fair-flat shooting gallery, though no one has won the oversized gaudy yet, because I still seem to be quacking.

Over the years, I've been accused of just about everything, from being grossly superficial to committing noble-sounding to

not being Marshall McLuhan. (I would have liked to have been Marshall McLuhan—it seemed a ton o' fun—but he had the job pretty much covered.) Yet when I was writing this book—in rather when I was putting it together, for it was more an act of synthesis than of authorship—I attached no particular importance to it. I was, after all, a poet and novelist, wasn't I? I did not consider myself a real critic—just a kind of take-side maffin lady, doing a little cottage-industry hand-crafting in a worthy cause.

The worthy cause was The House of Anansi Press, a small literary publisher formed in 1967 by veteran Dennis Lee and David Godfrey as a response to the dearth of publishing opportunities for new writing at that time. *Anansi* was diverse in scope—Austin Clarke, Harold Searles Lasko, Roch Carrier and Jacques Ferron were some of its authors—and had already



made quite a few waves by 1971, when Dennis, an old college friend, backtracked me onto his board. So there we were one grey November day, a tiny, cramped, overcrowded, underpaid board, glomally considering the balance sheet, which showed an alarming amount of red ink. Publishing Rule No. 1 is that it's hard to keep small literary publishers solvent unless you have the equivalent of knitting books to support them.

To pay the bills, Anne had begun a line of user-friendly self-help guides, which had done moderately well: *Love Love Love*, by Clayton Ruby and Paul Copeland, which set forth how to dishonor your relatives, avoid being lied to by your estranged spouse, and so forth; and *VIR*, one of the first venereal disease books, which explained anatomical goo and warts and such, though AIDS was still a decade into the future.

Thus was born *Survival*. As I'd travelled the country's byways, giving poetry readings and using cardboard boxes of my own books to sell afterwards became often enough there was no bookstore, the absence of views on the subject was spectacular. The very question I was asked most frequently by audience members was, "Is there any Canadian literature?"

as a category, but this proposition was not always self-evident. To have any excuse for being the kind of book I had in mind would have to prove several points. First, that, yes, there was a Canadian literature—such a thing did indeed exist. (This turned out to be a radical proposition at the time, and was disputed by many when the book appeared.) Second, that this body of work was not just a second-rate version of English or American, or, in the case of francophone books, of French literature, but that it had different preoccupations which were specific to its own history and geography. This was a radical proposition, although common sense ought to have indicated that it was just common sense: if you were a rocky, watery northern country, cool in climate, large in geographical expanse, small but diverse in population, and with a huge aggressive neighbour to the south, why wouldn't you have concerns that varied from those of the huge aggressive neighbour? Or indeed from those of the crowded, history-pocked, tight little island, recently but no longer an imperial power, that had once ruled the waves? Well, you'd think they'd be different, wouldn't you? To justify



Legacy Clayton Ruby, author Roch Carrier (center); Anne in 1970 (right); winners of the Anansi Prize of the 1970s

Survival became an 'overnight publishing sensation' I became an instant sacred monster. 'Now you're a target,' Farley Mowat said to me. How prescient he was.

and, "Supposing there is, isn't it just a second-rate copy of real literature, which comes from England and the United States?" In Australia they called this attitude the Cultural Cringe; in Canada it was the Colonial Mentality. In both—and in many smaller countries around the world, as it turned out—it was part of a tendency to believe that the Great Good Place was, culturally speaking, elsewhere.

Through no fault of my own, I happened to be doing a one-year teaching stint at York University. Canadian literature formed part of the course load, so I'd had to come up with some easily grasped approach to it—easily grasped by me as well as by my students, because I was, by training, a Victorianist, and had never formally studied Canadian literature. (Not surprising, it wasn't taught.) I discovered that previous discussion on the subject, although pretty enough, had been few in number: there was not exactly a wealth of existing literature.

Back to the Anansi meeting. "Hey, I know," I cried, in my Mickey Rooneyish way. "Let's do a VO of Canadian literature!" What I meant, explained, was a sort of handbook for the average reader—but all these people I'd met on my own visits who'd wanted to know more, but didn't know where to start. This book would not be for academics. It would have no footnotes, and would not employ the phrase "On the other hand," or at least not much. It would also contain lists of other books that people could actually go into a bookstore and buy. This was a fairly revolutionary concept, because the *CanLit* of the past was mostly out of print, and that of the present was kept well hidden at the back of the store, in among the Beautiful Canadians full of shiny calendars.

We now take it for granted that Canadian literature exists

the teaching of Canadian literature as such, you'd still have to start from the same axioms: (i) it exists, and a) it's distinct.

Back to the Anansi meeting. The desperate will try anything, so the board agreed that this idea should be given a whirl. Over the next four or five months, I wrote away at it, and as I finished each section Dennis Lee edited it, and under Dennis's blue pencil the book grew from the proposed handwritten-page handbook to a length of 246 pages. It also took on a more coherent shape and direction. The book's subtitle—*A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*—meant that we were aiming, not at an all-inclusive cross-indexed survey such as was provided in 1957 by the 1,159-page *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature*, but at a series of studies of each author or that, not at a collection of New-critical close readings or explorations *à la* New. We were doing the sort of thing that an historian Nicholas Pevsner had done in *The Englishness of English Art*, or that the American literary critic Perry Miller and Leslie Fiedler were doing in their examinations of American literature: the identification of a series of characteristics and leitmotifs, and a comparison of the varying treatment of them in different canonical and cultural environments.

For example: money is a sign of divine grace or providence is present in the American tradition from the Puritans through Benjamin Franklin through *Moby-Dick* through Henry James through *The Great Gatsby*. The theme is treated now seriously, now cynically, now tragically, now ironically, just as a leitmotif in a symphony may be played in different keys and in different tempos. It notes its time (wealth and circumstances change, of course the 18th century is not the

20th. Yet the leitmotif persists in a dominating concern—a persistent cultural obsession, if you like.

The persistent cultural obsession of Canadian literature, and *Survival* was, well, *Survival*. In actual life, and in both the anglophone and the francophone sectors, this concern is often enough a facet of the weakness, as when the lone store out of the electrical power. *Le commerce* has long been an over-the-shoulder in Quebec political life, currently manifesting itself in anxiety about the survival of French. In the ROC, it's more like a concern about what's your gonna do when the Moslems lose your ability to control your water supply, or when the Moslems ask themselves to Disney, or when your government says that the refugees from the huge aggressive neighbour to the south are the same as you're really or when there's a choice that after the next Quebec referendum, that part of the country will no longer be that part of the country? And so on and so forth.

Survived, therefore, began with this dominant note. It then presented a number of other motifs in Canadian literature—motifs that either did not exist or all in one of the literature chosen for comparison (for instance, there are almost no "leitmotifs" in English novels, or which did exist, but were not handled in the same way. The Canadian "immigrant story" from *Ising Loyalties*, to *Scots Bickled off their land*, to arriving Irish, to Latvian's emigrating after the Second World War, to the economic refugees of the '70s and '80s, made to be very different from the one told by Americans in any of their stories in likely to say that the immigrants were really trying to get into Canada has ended up in the United States *face de misère*. Canada has rarely been the promised land. About the closest we've come is the title of Whyte

Johnson's 1936 novel, *The Colony of Unrepentant Sinners*.

The tradition identified in *Survival* was not a handle of up lifting. Polytechnic cheer came the seven. *CanLit*, at least up until 1970, was no balance a somewhat dark concern. Some critics who couldn't read very well—a widespread occupational hazard, it seems—thought: I want someone addressing this state of affairs. *As someone* if the book has introduced, it's more like you are here, you really do exist and this is where, so pull up your socks and quit whining. As Alice Munro says, "Do what you were and live with the consequences." Or as *Survival* itself says in its last chapter: "Having flesh and tradition under your feet is better than having no ground at all... a tradition doesn't necessarily exist to bury you; it can also be used as material for new depictions."

Many things have happened in the 27 years since *Survival* was published. In politics, the Quebec challenge and loss of national control and increased U.S. domination brought about by free trade have become, not the creative working room they were in *Survival*, but everyday reality. Canada's well-known failure to embrace a single "ideology" of the jettisoning of Bessie Coleman has come to seem less like a failure than a deliberate and rather brave refusal. In literary criticism, Regionalism, Feminism, Deconstructionism, Political Correctness, Appropriation of Voice, and Literary Politics have all swept across the scene, leaving their traces. The former Canadian literary question, "What's what?" has been replaced by "Who are we?" "Deconstruct" and "text" are the new words for "debate" and "book." "Problematic" has become a verb, "postmodern"—once a cutting-edge adjective—is used to describe kids' little handbags, and obscenity, in some

academic quarters, has become a mode of being. *Survival*, the book, accused quarians and those out-of-date as these various years went by, and—incidentally—as its waters were grazed and its professions redited. Yet its central concerns remain with us, and must still be confronted. *Are we really that different from anybody else? If so, how? And is that how something worth preserving?* In 1992, *Survival* concluded with two questions: *How we survive? If so, what happens after Survival?* We're still asking the same questions.

People often ask me what I would change about *Survival* if I were writing it today. The obvious answer is that I wouldn't write it today, because I wouldn't need to. The thing I set out to prove has been proven beyond a doubt: few would seriously argue, anymore, that there is no Canadian literature. The other answer is that I wouldn't be able to write it, not only because of my own hardening brain, but because the quantity, range and diversity of books now published would defeat any such effort. *Melissa Ruckler's* well-known jest, "world-



*Standard and encourage will
Quebec become the Ireland
of Canada, a haven for writers?*

documenting, and as forth—nor to mention the homegazing effect of the global economy. *How we survive?*

But this is Canada, land of contrasts. Indeed it is a Canada, land of rage, no sooner has a rag been plucked beneath the nation's artistic feet than it is pulled out, but no sooner has it been pulled out in one place than it is inserted in another. Now, in an astounding but qualifying development, Quebec has announced that the first \$15,000 of income from copyrights—from songs to books to computer software—will be tax exempt. (By an ironic coincidence, \$15,000 is the average income from writing in this country.) Will there be unfore-

seen consequences? Will Quebec become the Ireland of Canada, haven for writers, and the Prague of Europe, the latest destination? Will every young, mean and lean creator flee all over the country to Quebec to Montreal, where the rent is cheap and the coffee food cheap, so that they can actually have a hope of earning a living from their work? Why stay in Toronto, where the prices are high, the wrong is some, your vote is worth only a crumb of a vote in North Bay, the public health system is going to eat everyone, and you get snarled at by your own provincial government and the Montreal Bar for being an outsider? Indeed, why stay in Ontario, where culture and the arts are funded at the rate of \$39 a head, as opposed to \$79 a head in Quebec?

Experience has shown that where talent goes, and where development is to follow. First the artists, then the critics, then the designers, then the lawyers. M. Bouchard must know that he's been called many things, but rarely stupid. Could it be that this crazy tax move will revitalize downtown Montreal, which for some years has been bleeding at every pore? And revitalize it by means of—oh, yes, *homer*—apple pies? Canadian writers—unintentional tax rules from the ROC?

All M. Bouchard has to do is mend the same kind of tax loophole to the publishing industry, and Montreal may once again become the vital center of anglophone Canadian literary activity, as it was in the '60s and '80s. The street along which Bouchard can see Canadian culture walking may soon be his own. In that case, the 21st century answer to the second-last question posed in *Survival* may be—at least to regard writers—both brighter and deeper than:

How we survive?
No. But only in Quebec. ■

In Canadian culture, there is always a negative side. We have cuts to grants, threats to magazines, publishers in peril.

famous in Canada," could be as such a laugh—many Canadian writers are now world-famous, period. The worldwide scandal of Cuckoo has gone to its maximum. The year-old, fully bilingual Institute for Canadian Studies at the University of Ottawa has lost some 279 Canadian studies courses located in other countries, including 20 in France, 65 in the United States, 16 in Germany and 22 in India. Canadian writers regularly achieve foreign publication, win major prizes, sign movie deals. In fact, so vigorous is Canadian writing—or writing in English, at least—that it's become almost embarrassing.

All the more curious that Lucien Bouchard, visiting Paris in March, would gape that he had never seen Canadian culture walking along the streets. "But apparently it exists in Ottawa." Of course you don't see much walking along the streets if what you're looking at is not the bookish windows but your own reflection in it. Though even M. Bouchard's reflection is "Canadian culture," considering his status as that cherished folk hero, the winged Scissors Man, used from time immemorial to frighten the fainthearted. *If you don't see them out and up, M. Bouchard will climb or struggle your windows at night and SPIN/SPIN/SPIN!*

In Canadian culture, however, there's always a negative side. At present we have our poets, threats to magazines, publishers in peril through withdrawal of funding, writers struggling with the effects upon their royalties of book-chain drop-

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Northwest Passage

One of Canada's pre-eminent
broadcasters and journalists reflects on the
future of the North after Nunavut

By Peter Gosselin

With 10 of its members now gone, gone, although not all elected to the new Nunavut legislature in Inuktitut, the airy, glass-domed Northwest Territories parliamentary chamber in Yellowknife looked vastly different than I remembered from previous visits when I reported this spot. The 40-ft-dia hall had been occupied by seven Inuktitut MLAs before the April 1 creation of Nunavut had already been announced; the remaining 16 were drawn into a tighter circle. Six were for the premier and his cabinet, while on the other side of a polar bear rug were seven for the remaining members who, in the Northwest Territories' system of consensual, party-less government,

form a kind of official opposition, though they are listened to more respectfully and are more frequently supportive of government programs than opposition parties in the south. (The Speaker, who votes only to break a tie, sits on a throne in front of a nine-sided wall that carries the engraved outline of a northern landscape.) One of the temperate boons that ring the perimeter—with nine official languages, the Yellowknife legislature has had more simultaneous translation than the United Nations—will bore the label "Inuktitut," but when the House now sits, that booth is empty.

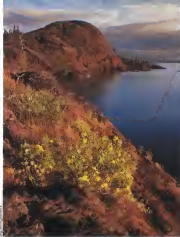
Inuktitut, one of the three official languages of the new territory to the east (the others being English and French), is a 600-year-old language that 13,000 native Canadian Inuit speak, in part from the western

Traditional Inuktitut, number 10, is gone, although not all elected to the new Nunavut legislature in Inuktitut, the airy, glass-domed Northwest Territories parliamentary chamber in Yellowknife looked vastly different than I remembered from previous visits when I reported this spot.



government; there are just right languages there now. Outside the chamber sits a replica of the legislature's beautiful, symbol-laden crest hung in a glass cabinet [the original, with its carvings made of indigenous animals and ivory from across the North, has been in permanent storage since 1979]. Artwork is now hanging on a design that will represent the west alone.

For as long as non-Indians have known that division has been coming, they've been aware that it would have an impact on the western Arctic as well as the east. They are very different societies. Eighty-five per cent of the 25,000 residents of Nunavut are Inuit. In the west, which still clings to its name Northwest Territories—in spite of suggestions for change that ranged from Denendeh (meaning "Dene land") to, as one poll indicated, Bob—the 40,000 citizens are almost equally split between whites and aboriginals. The native groups, largely Dene and Métis, are in turn divided into at least as many different bands and alliances as there are languages. Less than 10 years ago, this might have been different. In 1991, even at the time when passing their own claim, the leaders of what had become known as the Dene Nation appeared to have reached a last-chance settlement with



Great Slave Lake: the arguments are far from over, but there is a sense that, even as Nunavut took precedence to evolve, a solution to the problems will emerge.

At its heart, the fight over redrawing electoral boundaries is a struggle between larger, mostly white towns and outlying aboriginal communities

Ottawa, and that spring there was dancing in the streets of Yellowknife. But the claim—and, virtually, the Dene Nation itself—fell apart when two bands failed to ratify it.

Since then, the various parties have been negotiating on their own, some, though far from all, successfully. Because the settlement of the Inuit claim in July 1993, the largest in our history, was an integral part of the evolution of Nunavut, some western people have been wondering if they, too, shouldn't be seeking the kind of self-determination Nunavut represents, bypassing Yellowknife and dealing directly with Ottawa—governments, as it were, to governments. The right claims have earned the western Arctic into a huge checkerboard. As Mike Ballantyne, a former Northwest Territories cabinet minister and Speaker of the legislature, told me late last year in the dawn of Nunavut's approach: "It's going to be Yugoslavia without guns."

It hasn't been, of course, and the televised carping in Kasego was a reminder, by contrast, of how peacefully and democratically northern Canadians are proceeding. But there have been tensions in the newly divided North, and even Mike Ballantyne, who chuckled when I reminded him

last month of his Yugoslav analogy—"It's actually fun, don't you think?" he said—admits the squabbles are popping up faster than popcorn exploded.

Those between the Northwest Territories and Nunavut have remained minor: how to divide the museum in the architecturally imposing Yellowknife museum with its much more modest Nunavut counterpart, where to display the A. V. Jackson paintings now hanging in the caucus room of the Northwest Territories legislature, and, perhaps the thorniest of all, which territory should have the right to the North's distinctive polar bear license plates.

But within the remaining Northwest Territories the debates have been both more raucous and more extreme. The horizon has been the quarrel over electoral boundaries—triggered by division. To condense a complex series of constitutional manoeuvres to their essence: first, a commission appointed by the legislature suggested adjusting some ridings to allow for the changed pattern of population, principally adding two seats in Yellowknife, whose 17,000 residents make it the largest community (Yellowknife previously had four

seats, but with the closure of Nunavut removed from the equation, it represents proportionally much more of the remaining Northwest Territories population). Then, a group of five Yellowknifers, including the mayor, a territorial civil servant who once won \$55,000 on Jeopardy, and a man who used to live on a houseboat on Great Slave Lake, launched a court case against the new boundaries, arguing that the larger communities would still be underrepresented.

In a landmark decision released in March, Justice Mark de Weert, a deputy judge of the territorial Supreme Court, found for the complainants, citing a rule of thumb that the most populous ridings be no more than 25 per cent larger than the average. Ifder division, the riding of Yellowknife South, for example, was 152 per cent larger than the average. If no changes were made before April 1, Justice de Weert ruled, three existing ridings—Yellowknife North, Yellowknife South and Hay River—were unconstitutional.

What followed de Weert, as non-Indians call the decision, has been a dizzying sequence of bitter legislative debates over whether or not to appeal it. When matters were at their most tense, some aboriginal leaders wrote to Jane Stewart, minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, pointing out that invalidating the three seats would reduce the legislature to



Mike Ballantyne and legislation (below): too much power?

down last year after an inquiry found him in conflict of interest) has been in the forefront of the move to appeal de Weert. "The court clearly has one much power," he said over coffee recently. "Given with our budget reduced [there will be a shortfall of \$200 million this year], they want to spend \$100 million on the Yellowknife highway."

But at its heart, the struggle between aboriginals and whites. The three largest towns all have white majorities, while virtually all the outlying communities are predominantly aboriginal, so the proposed redistribution would almost certainly see the legislature's first white majority in nearly a decade. Many non-aboriginals think that's fine. As power has moved down to regional native bands, many whites see the legislature in the hot remaining place where they'll have a voice. The natives, on the other hand, think a non-native majority would work to

slow down the process of land claims, many of which are funded by Yellowknife, in favour of the needs of the bigger towns. As Mike Ballantyne says: "It's all about balance."

This month, with de Weert's deadline now extended until September, an alliance of native leaders called the Aboriginal Summit launched a formal appeal of the ruling, partly funded, in typical northern fashion, by the legislature which had decided not to spend on its own. The arguments are far from over, but somewhere there's a sense that, even as Nunavut seeks generations to evolve, a solution will emerge—including, to take just one example, the suggestion that Yellowknife add a sixth (citywide riding in which voters who chose to do so would elect one aboriginal MLA. "Isn't Canada lucky," says Ballantyne, "to have a place where 40,000 people can conduct so many experiments in democracy?"

As critics like to point out, of course, that 40,000 is smaller than the population of, say, Chatham, Ontario. But unlike every southern Canadian politician who comes to caucus office with only the most general idea of some of the issues they'll confront, most northern leaders, certainly the aboriginals, have been studying, negotiating over and struggling with these matters all of their adult lives. It's long, arduous, painstaking process, but in the vast beautiful wilderness of Canada's North, it holds much promise for the future of the country—and, perhaps, for an increasingly native world. ■



below the minimum required by the Northwest Territories Act (14), and that she should suspend the House and return, for a while at least, to government by appointed commission, which, some people thought, was stepping back nearly 25 years to when the North began its slow progress to self- (and desired) government. Before anything could be simplified, the situation grew even more complicated: the legislature moved to add not two new seats, as the commission had recommended, but five, three in Yellowknife, one in Hay River and one in Inuvik.

On the surface, the arguments are between big and small communities, with Yellowknife, in particular, regarded as a kind of Toronto of the North. Don Morris, a Mitta Mitta man from Fort Resolution and a former premier the stopped

Showdown time

Nova Scotia's Liberal government falls

For days, Nova Scotia Tory Leader John Horgan watched the pressure. Take-down calls, provincial New Democrats, the game in MLAs in his own caucus all said the same thing: vote against Nova Scotia's red-ink budget, topple Russell Maclean's Liberal minority government and trigger a summer election. What gave Horgan pause were the other voices—politicians, political strategists and more cautious Tories—urging him to prop up the Liberals rather than take his chances on an election with his Conservatives running third in the polls. But by last Thursday he had made up his mind—he

stood in Halifax's historic Province House and announced that "my caucus and I cannot in good conscience vote for this budget."

The suspense finally over, campaign organizers immediately unleashed their troops for the July 27 election. It promises to be a tight race. The Liberals and New Democrats were decimated in the legislature with 19 seats apiece—and have been running neck and neck in the latest opinion polls with 34- and 36-per-cent support respectively, compared with 25 per cent for the Tories. But Horgan's party, which had 13 seats, is feeling fairly, thanks to Beauchamp



MacLellan, a campaign based on health care

Leah's Conservative support in New Brunswick on June 7 when his party reversed over 20 years' ruling in that province, taking Liberals. "This is going to be a historic race," declared *Age Advance*, a political science professor at Acadia University in Wolfville, N.S.

Last week, many analysts said the Liberals had experienced their own defeat just 15 months after the last election, in hopes of winning a majority with a campaign highlighting their chosen issue—health care. The main component of the budget was a mammoth health investment fund, to be achieved by borrowing \$600 million over the next three years. The Liberals were roundly criticized for financial sleight-of-hand for projecting a \$1.5-billion surplus for 1998-2000—but not including the health expenditure as part of their normal operating budget. Now, Gair strategists clearly welcome running a campaign that focuses on keeping hospital beds open and replacing obsolete medical equipment, while praising the NDP and Tories as political opponents more interested in power than the health of Nova Scotians.

The NDP and Tories will try to convince voters that they, rather than the Liberals, have credibility as the champions of health care. Voting against the budget may make that hard. But the challenges have a clear advantage over the Liberals in one regard—the number of federal MPs purchasing in to help during the weeks ahead. The NDP and Tories that see the Liberals in Nova Scotia by winning every federal seat during the 1997 election. Now, their provincial counterparts are hoping to occupy some of that turf.

John DeMont in Halifax



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Insights into the brain of a mental giant

Six months—at least as far as renowned German-born physicist Albert Einstein's brain was concerned. In the June 28 issue of the British medical journal *The Lancet*, a team of researchers headed by Sandra Wilson, a neuroscientist at Hamilton's McMaster University, said that the physicist's brain—thought to be related to mathematical reasoning—was 15 per cent wider than normal. (Wilson's team also found that, contrary to other claims, Einstein's parietal lobes were not divided.) Einstein's brain was removed from his body after his death at Princeton University in 1955 and kept for more than 40 years by pathologist Thomas Harvey, who refused requests by U.S. government officials to turn the brain over to them. In 1996, Harvey transported the brain by air to Canada for study at McMaster.



A disappointment for Marin

Stand down—that was the message given by Defense Minister Art Eggleton to André Marin last week as he finally uncovered the mandate for the new military arbitrator's office. Marin received much wider powers than he originally asked for. Last December, he told *Maclean's* that his office must have the ability "to independently collect our facts firsthand" when investigating complaints, and Eggleton promised there would be "no instructions" on what Marin could look into. A month later, Marin delivered his recommendations to Eggleton, asking for investigative powers that bypassed the military

command structure, including the right to investigate any senior he deemed fit and to lay sanctions against anyone lying to or obstructing the work of his investigations.

But last week, Eggleton gave much softer directions. Among other things, Marin is barred from investigating any aspects of the much-maligned military justice system. And the arbitrator also said the aim of the office was to deal only with current complaints—those lodged since June 15, 1998, when Marin's office was created. As a result, Marin will have to drop many of the 350 backlogged cases before him.

Svend Robinson lashes out

The controversy surrounding New Democrat Svend Robinson deepened with the release of a letter written by the British Columbia MP to the party's president criticizing leader Alexa McDonough. On June 9, McDonough reprimanded Robinson to the backbenches after he pressed a petition in the House asking that a reference to God be deleted from the Constitution. In his letter, Robinson fought back, saying that "Alma and the federal caucus have made a major political blunder in their totally inept handling of this matter."

'Lord' Black blocked

Others put the brakes on Britain's plan to shroud Canadian-born newspaper magnate Conrad Black to the House of Lords. An Ottawa spokesman said the government needed time to check whether the appointment would be a 1919 law on Canadians accepting foreign titles. Black, who owns London's *Daily Telegraph* as well as Canada's *Southam* chain and the *National Post*, holds both Canadian and British citizenship. He insisted the rule did not apply to his situation.

Abuse and liability

The Supreme Court of Canada ruled that organizations can be held liable for sexual abuse committed by their employees or volunteers. Native leaders cheered the ruling, saying it clearly makes Ottawa and the churches that run the troubled residential school system financially responsible for the abuse that occurred within those institutions.

The youngest offender

Adrian Laboucan, 17, of Quesnel, B.C., was declared a dangerous offender—Canada's youngest. Laboucan, who pleaded guilty to the violent sexual assault of a three-month-old boy he was babysitting, also confessed to the murder of a three-year-old boy and has chewed his own flesh while in detention.

Fuelling a debate

Researchers headed by University of Toronto epidemiologist Lou Guzzo found that children who were exposed to high levels of electromagnetic radiation from power lines appeared to have a higher risk of developing leukemia. The team studied more than 600 children over six years. The issue has stirred among scientists debate for two decades.

A compensation deal

Details of the \$1.1-billion federal-provincial compensation package for people infected with hepatitis C through shared blood were released in Ontario Superior Court. There will be five levels of claimants, depending on the date of the surgery, with a minimum payment of \$10,000. The package must be approved by courts in Ontario, British Columbia and Quebec, and includes those who contracted the disease before 1986 or after July 1, 1990.

Lone Star shining

Dallas wins on the ice, and on the bottom line

For a few crazy, gross hours last week, the Buffalo Sabres won *The Little Things That Count*. They had just defeated the Dallas Stars 2-1 in Game 4 of the Stanley Cup Final, earning their best-of-seven series at two games apiece and sparking a frenzy of cheering and horn-banking that kept the city lively into the wee hours. The celebration was understandable, the Sabres, the seventh seed in the National Hockey League Eastern Conference, had done well just to keep up with the West's top-ranked Stars. But as it turned out, Game 4 was the last chance the Buffaloes would have to close a victory. The talented Stars rolled the speedy Sabres in the next two games, closing it out in a triple-overtime thriller that gave Texas its first-ever Cup. "It's unbelievable," and Stars' captain Darius Hatcher. "I didn't think the game was going to end."

Why Buffalo? It needed something to cheer about. Its cherished National Football League team, the Bills, qualified for four Super Bowls in the 1990s, and then there it. The city itself suffered from rain-bell woe, having declined precipitously from 19th-century glory when it was major port for Great Lakes shipping. And don't even mention the snow. The comparison does not denote championship—players do. So it is no surprise that the Stanley Cup parade will be in Dallas this week. The Stars have more talent and experience than the Sabres, first-time home for most of its fans. But they have to make it to the playoffs with their management expense. The Stars have added expensive free agents in Brett Hull and playoff MVP Joe Nieuwendyk in recent years because majority owner Thomas Hicks has deep pockets, and Dallas is a richer market for TV rights and corporate sponsorship. Buffalo has a weakly owner in cable TV magnate John R. Rizzo, but its revenues are a fraction of Dallas—and its player payroll this year was

about \$23 million lower than the Stars'. That disparity has some hockey officials concerned that their sport is becoming more like baseball, where only the rich teams seem able to control the playoffs. But the Stars' bottom-line advantage was not as great on the ice—



Hatch stopping the Stars' Nieuwendyk: does the future belong to big-market clubs?

every game in the series was extremely close. The Stars poured a night defensive cover, and among pushing forward from Ed Belfour, with prolific scorers such as Nieuwendyk, Hall and Mike Modano. But with the remarkable Dominik Hasek in net and a gritty team ethic, the Sabres held their own. "There is no doubt about it," Stars coach Ken Hitchcock said after Game 5. "It is an absolute shift-by-shift battle."

The Sabres' players refused to lean on their modest payroll in an excuse for losing. They had, after all, vanquished wealthier teams in Boston and Toronto on their way to the final. "We don't think about how much money the other guy is making," says Buffalo's Randy Gossel. "We may not have the experience, but we play well as a team."

NHL officials cite the Sabres' success when they argue that the rich-own-props baseball scenario does not apply in hockey—at least not yet. And it isn't just Buffalo. Other low-budget teams, including Ottawa, have excelled, while the New York Rangers and Vancouver Canucks failed to make the playoffs despite spending big bucks. Still, Sabres officials say the team would have lost \$22 million this season without the income from a dozen home playoff games. And that adds trouble for small-market teams when the cost of player salaries is rising faster than revenues, and when the

collective agreement with the players does not expire until 2004. "Either the owners are not doing money or their expenditures are too high," NHL commissioner Gary Bettman said last month. "We will have to make the appropriate adjustment in collective bargaining."

With a league due to be proposed to do whatever it takes to achieve that "adjustment," and a players' movement with a history of ousting the owners when push comes to shove, labour war seems inevitable. But it can't begin until the current contract expires in five years. In the meantime, low-budget franchises have to hope that their expenses level out. If not, they might favour *The Little Things That Count*.

James Duncan in Buffalo

A Heart-wrenching Task

Canadian soldiers encounter obstructive Russians and ugly tales of atrocity as NATO takes over

By Guy Dinizore in Magera

Less than a kilometre away from where Canadian troops left them under high-tech surveillance, obstructive Russian troops were engaged in the most serious eyeball-to-eyeball stand-off between Moscow's and NATO's forces for half a century. In a nearby ethnic Albanian village, survivors told of a gruesome massacre by Serb forces. There, where there were signs of the human tragedy caused by the conflict in Kosovo. As they passed their first week in the so-called Yugoslav province, Canadian peacekeepers had quickly become transfixed in the rocky and often heart-wrenching complexities of ending a messy Balkan war.

It was a time of upsetting drama and ugly revelations. Ignoring aid workers' pleas that the country wasn't ready for them, thousands of ethnic Albanians streamed out of the camps in Albania and Macedonia to try to outside their homes—or at anything left of them—in Kosovo. At the same time, fleeing refugees from members of the Kosovo Liberation Army—most of whom had yet to be disarmed by NATO forces as they primarily took control of the province—thousands of Serbians decided joined a new refugee corridor leading north into Serbia proper. Across Kosovo, troops and investigators kept discovering more evidence of mass graves and atrocities—even an apparent torture chamber in a Pristina police station—leading NATO officials to estimate that more than 10,000 ethnic Albanians may have been murdered during the alliance's 10-week bombing campaign.

And then there were the Russians. Magera village, on the edge of Kosovo's main airport, outside Pristina, became the focus of their new backsliding with NATO, and the 134



Canadian soldiers of the reconnaissance squadron of the Edmonton-based Lord Strathcona's Horse Regiment were right in the thick of it.

The drama had begun on June 12, after Russian troops dashed south through Serbia from their base in Bosnia and managed to seize Srebrenica airport just before the first wave of British paratroopers were due in the capital. The British had been ready to move the day before, but were ultimately ordered to stand down and avoid confrontation with the Russians (U.S. and British officials last week each insisted the other country was responsible for the decision). The next day, units of the Irish guards, joined by a Canadian reinforced personnel carrier, moved within metres of the Russian airborne unit that was blocking the airport approach road with its own armoured vehicles. But the unit's commander, Capt. Nikolai (who refused to reveal his last name), stood his ground and the Canadian and British troops withdrew to about 800 m away.

Setting up base among the ruins of ethnic Albanian homes destroyed in the year-long war between separatist rebels and the Yugoslav army, the Canadians kept a wary eye on the Russians

A KLA fighter mourns at a suspected mass grave north of Pristina; Canadian troops monitor departing Russian army (right) jets and cars

with high-tech radar equipment. "We can see the cars and eyes of the British Fourth Armoured Brigade," said Warner Officer Robert Swinburn, referring to the British unit they are opposing. His Coyote armoured reconnaissance vehicles were also monitoring the retreat from Kosovo of Yugoslav army forces, due to be completed only this week.

The Canadian radar, backed by thermal cameras, can spot "noise" walking in the desert," explained Swinburn, an electronics officer. Last week, the cameras caught the Russians digging trenches in breach of an agreement they had made with NATO—the NATO-led security force in Kosovo. Their movements were videotaped and dispatched by motorcycle to NATO commanders who coordinated the Russians with the evidence.

As the days wore on, however, tensions eased. The 200 or so Russians felt increasingly isolated and holed building an empty airfield. "The British and Canadians are our friends," declared Capt. Nikolai. On Friday, Russia and U.S. negotiators in Helsinki finally agreed on Moscow's role in pursuing Kosovo. The Russians had wanted their own sector, but will instead stand up to 3,600 troops to drive off the five NATO-controlled sectors. The soldiers will report to their own officers who in turn will work with the NATO command. The airport, at last, was to be opened to all peacekeeping forces. Leaders of the Group of Eight, including Russia, then began haggling in Cologne, Germany over whether to give reconstruction aid to a reconstruction Serbia.

For the Canadians in Magera, the trouble with the Russians contrasted with the warmth from the few ethnic Albanians who had stayed in the area despite Serbian attacks



and the long weeks of NATO bombing, much of it aimed at the airfield. "The Albanians love us here," said Swinburn. "They're happy to see us and get on with their lives. They're nothing to give us except flowers."

Life is not all hardship for the Canadian men—they have rigged up a shower to get water back into an empty swimming pool, which still had hot jets. Cpl. Clifton Coffin from Montreal, a diver with the reconnaissance unit, was playing a game of cards as the group waited for orders for their next mission. "We'll be home before Christmas—I don't want to miss another one," said Coffin, who has just done a tour of peacekeeping duty in Bosnia. "My wife was beside herself—we've been married for 15 years."

The Canadians admit they have been worried by what they have experienced so far. "It's not the shooting or the bombs, but the misery you encounter," said Coffin, explaining how members of his unit came across an elderly woman, crying, bleeding and dying from cervical cancer. They also encountered an old man, two weeks to live with his family. "What do you do?" asked the corporal.

Back home dealing with evidence of massacres, Coffin described how some ethnic Albanians told them about a mass grave in a village just a few kilometres away. "We reported it to headquarters and they will investigate," he said. "It hurts worse," Coffin added. "After Bosnia, some guys returned to Canada with post-traumatic stress syndrome."

Among the many signs of hardship last

Canada's air war According to figures released by Ottawa last week, Canadian pilots flew 10 per cent of NATO's bombing sorties over Yugoslavia. The 18 CF-18 "Hornets," based in *Albion, Italy*, attacked targets that included oil refineries, airfields, Serbian forces in Kosovo and bridges over the Danube. Key numbers:

678 total sorties
598 prospective bombing runs
334 scrubbed by pilot, generally due to concern over targeting and civilian "collateral damage"

224 in which bombs were dropped
158 targets hit
70% accuracy—a partial success rate even for smart bombs, officials say

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World

NATO officials estimated that 10,000 ethnic Albanians may have been murdered



British soldier in apparent police uniform checks weapons

work was one supplied by a handful of survivors in the nearby village of Hales. A row of five white-brick villas—since touched by Serbian forces—demonstrated the wealth possessed by the local bourgeoisie. Much of that money also went into funding the rebel KLA, and some of the villagers had joined in revolt. According to the survivors, Serbian paramilitary forces surrounded Hales on April 19, the same day a military sweep was conducted through much of central Kosovo. The paramilitaries rounded up about 50 men and then called out 20 names.

Becher Aulund watched as they were led off. "Why wasn't I chosen?" he still wonders. Shouts rang out from three separate locations nearby: Becher's cousin, Sherif Aulund, and he was among a group of 13 lined up against the wall of a barn. "One by one they called out our names and fired a single shot," he said. "One of Becher's brothers was the first to be killed. Sherif says he was shot through the shoulder—he lost a ear then—and limped down. When the Serbs left, he crawled to safety."

The last victim was an 18-year-old girl, Nadia Blanka. According to Becher, she

ran to the body of her murdered father. "Like a good daughter would," and was also shot. Villagers described how the paramilitaries then ordered local people to bury all the corpses by the barn. "We could not even give them a decent burial," complained Becher. Then, inexplicably, soldiers returned some days later and ordered that the bodies be exhumed. Villagers said the corpses were taken to Pristina's airport, autopsied, and then brought back to Hales, where soldiers ordered that be returned in the village cemetery. And there they lie today—30 mounds of earth with posies of flowers placed there by local girls, mourning their fates.

As the villagers described the events, children gathered to listen. "They have seen and heard everything—there's no point telling them to go away," said Emma, one of the daughters of the clan. Five in Hales believe Serbs and Albanians can live together again after what happened. Tonina, though, said the region is rife with the thousands of Serbian-Kosovo along with their remaining army and police. "Let the Serbs stay," she said. "And then they can suffer like we did."

The Serbian view The independent Belgrade weekly *NIN* last week conducted an opinion poll among Serbs about the outcome of the war. Among results:

Who won, NATO or Serbia?	
Serbia	60%
NATO	26.8%
No one	26.8%

Do you agree with the peace settlement accepted by Yugoslavia?	
Yes	63.8%
In part	18.1%
No	14%

Do you believe that Serbs committed war crimes in Kosovo?	
Yes	84.9%
In part	3.5%
No	68.5%

Can Serbs and Albanians live together after the war?	
Yes	88.9%
In part	33.5%
No	4%

Notes do not reach 100 per cent because "don't know" responses are not included

World United States

An execution in Texas



Stanley Faulder becomes the first Canadian to suffer the death penalty in the United States in 47 years

By Andrew Phillips in Houston

Even when all his appeals had at long last run out and the life remaining to him was measured in just minutes, Stanley Faulder had time to say for himself. For 22 years, while he sat on death row in Huntsville, Tex., and watched his lawyers fight to keep him alive, he spewed stream after stream of requests to speak out on his own behalf. Once the jurors at the fabled old brick prison that houses Huntsville's death house had stopped him onto the guillotine that would be his dying place, Faulder was offered the traditional chance to say some final words. His response was characteristically brief: "No more words."

Faulder's supporters, though, had plenty to say about the man who last week became the first Canadian to be executed in the United States in 47 years. His death as possibly 618 p.m. Texas time last Thursday they argued, undid the lives in a state legal system that kills more prisoners than any other in the Western world. Faulder's execution for the brutal 1975 murder of an elderly widow became a cause célèbre in Canada and elsewhere—with notables from Foreign Affairs Minister Lloyd Axworthy to Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Vatican, the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, and the legal arm of the Organisation of American States pleading his case. But in Texas it was just another day on death row. Faulder was the 14th person put to death in



Faulder on prison in November; the Phillips family arrived at The Walls (top) for the execution

the state this year, the 178th since Texas restored capital punishment in 1982. At the hands of the big clock on the prison known as The Walls moved inexorably towards 6 p.m. and his scheduled final walk, only half a dozen lonely death-penalty appearances showed their disapproval outside.

Faulder had survived nine previous execution dates, as legal appeals brought him more time. This time, though, his luck had run out. Two courts last week rejected petitions from his zealous lawyers, Sandra Babcock, to stay the execution. Texas' board of pardons and paroles refused, by a vote of 18-0, to grant him clemency. The U.S. Supreme Court turned down two last-minute requests to intervene—the second since just 65 minutes before the hour appeared for Faulder's death. Finally Gov. George W. Bush, fresh from campaigning for the Republican presidential nomination, announced he would not grant a reprieve, and the execution proceeded with pent-up efficiency.

By now, Texas has it down to a fine art. Prison spokesman Larry Pugh said he'd heard all the comings and goings at 6:02 p.m. Faulder was taken from a holding cell in the death chamber. At 6:04, he was strapped onto the guillotine and plastic tubes were inserted into veins at his elbow. At 6:05, electrocution began pumping an saline solution. At 6:12, he spoke his final words and a lethal solution of sodium thiocyanate poured into his body. Witnesses said he closed his eyes, coughed twice and let out a deep gasp. The first drug knocked him out; the second stopped his diaphragm and lungs, the third stopped his heart. At 6:18, a doctor pronounced him dead. He was 61 years old.

By all accounts, Faulder was at ease with himself. His final visitors, including Babcock and the Canadian consul in Dallas, John Morrow, said he had resigned himself to his fate after more than two decades on death row. With six of his previous dates, he had come within days, even minutes, of death before winning yet another stay of execution. "He had a long

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Even his jailers spoke well of Faulder, a model prisoner for 22 years.

time to prepare for this," Morrow said after spending 90 minutes with Poulakis last fall morning, talking about everything from death to the Stanley Cup playoffs. "I couldn't believe this was a man whose life was a matter of hours from ending," Poulakis, a longtime auto mechanic from Jasper, Alta., was an instantly person man who spoke publicly only a handful of times. But late November, days before his previous crucifixion date, he told *Maclean's* that he was "possessed." "I see really go by, and I'm not afraid to go," he told them. "There's an after-life, as far as I'm concerned, and I expect to be in it for a while. It's that simple."

There was a girl to be married. Emlinger's youngest friend in town to confess him with the person for which he was twice convicted and sentenced to die. In July, 1975, he saw the woman named Lynnda McCanna stand at the door of the 75 year old Mrs. Phyllis Smith, who lived alone in the town of Three Rivers of Gladwin County. In a written confession, Emlinger said the woman resembled her father on the head with a blacklock, broad and pointed hair, then Emily finished her through the heart with a kitchen knife that police had found still lodged in her chest. In 1977, he was convicted, but an appeal court ruled the confession inadmissible. In 1981, he was tried again and convicted on the strength of testimony from McCanna and another woman. Both women ruled that he should die.

Faulder's lawyer pointed to a host of irregularities in his trial. The ex-convict, wealthy oilman Jack Phillips, paid \$100,000 (\$1.5 million in today's dollars) to have private prosecutors to pursue the case the second time. Evidence that Faulder suffered a childhood brain injury was not presented to the jury during the sentencing phase of the trial, and a psychiatrist who testified that Faulder would be a continuing danger to society never testified. But what brought Duane into the case and gave it an international dimension was that Faulder was imprisoned for 15 years before he was told of his right under international law to seek assistance from his country's consulate.



Maroon after the enormous sale of books

With better legal help, Balcock argued, he might at least have avoided the death penalty. U.S. courts, however, ruled that even if the Canadian government would not have changed the outcome of the trial, and Texas ignored international appeals. The result, say Balcock's supporters, is that Canada may become more reluctant to extradite anyone to the United States who might face persecution there.

In the end, Foulde's story became one of redemption and forgiveness—or the lack of it. The Phillips family remained unbending. Five members witnessed the execution, and in a statement Jack Phillips condemned Jack Phillips's hasty ending and wish Foulde's death by lethal injection. "He did not die with multiple stab wounds and a butcher knife through his heart, so did my mother. His punishment was much less painful."

Twilder's supporters, though, countered the sad-eyed, thoughtful 61-year-old who was put to death last week with the 37-year-old man from Alberta who forced his way into the old lady's house almost a quarter of a century ago. After so many delays and so much waiting, it was as if Texas was executing a man comically different from the one who was convicted of murder. There he was,

The driver was had abandoned his family in Alabama for a life of petty crime. After he re-established contact in 1992, though, he was able to develop a close relationship with three—receiving a final visit from his mother, Pat Nicholls, and one of his two daughters, Cerie, five days before he died. Even his jailers spoke warmly of Funderle, a model prisoner for 22 years: “Sean was a good guy, a cool lion,” said Fingersold. Added Belkovich: “The man I knew was a fundamentally decent human being. Whether mandated he may have committed in the past, he has been redeemed.” Time has, however, continued no provision for redemptive, and Sean Funderle finally paid the price. ☐

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Korean tensions mount

North and South Korea remained in a tense standoff following a deadly naval clash in the Yellow Sea. The United States sent two navy destroyers into the area after a South Korean warship sank a North Korean gunboat. The confrontation North has disputed the sea boundary between the two countries for years. It has often sent ships into the area, but they usually withdraw when warned off.

Debt relief for the poorest

Leaders of the Group of Seven industrialized nations agreed to effectively cut in half the debt owed by 36 of the world's poorest countries. The initiative, long advocated by Canada, will wipe up to \$100 billion off the books of the G-7, owed mostly by African nations.

Gian control shot down

The Republican-controlled U.S. House of Representatives voted against a pro-conservative bill that would have reduced from three days to one the waiting period for background checks on people buying weapons in gun shows. The bill was defeated by moderate-to-left parties who claimed the legislation had been passed at the behest of the National Rifle Association. They were joined by a small group of hard-core conservatives who shun any new gun legislation.

Europe turns right

Left-leaning governments in the European Union, including Britain's Labour and Germany's Red-Green coalition, suffered a slap in the face as voters gave the center-right People's Party in first-ever majority in the European Parliament. Members vowed to bring greater scrutiny to the scandal-plagued European Commission. In concurrent Belgian elections, Prime Minister Jean-Luc Dehaene was defeated amid outrage over food contaminated by cancer-causing toxins.

Turin gets the Games

Residents of Turin, Switzerland, erupted in anger when the International Olympic Committee unexpectedly awarded the 2006 Winter Games to Turin, Italy. Turin was long seen as the first runner. Some officials said the IOC was taking revenge because a Swiss IOC board member had blown the whistle on Olympic corruption last year.

Kicking off the 2000 campaign

Vice-President Al Gore climbed the steps of the country courthouse in Cambridge, Mass., where he had formerly lunched his bid for the White House in 1988, and said he wanted to do it all over again. Texas Gov. George W. Bush posed with his father, former president George Bush, and his mother, Barbara, outside their campaign headquarters in Kennesaw, Ga., and said he was "picking up" their tradition after announcing that he, too, would seek America's highest office in 2000. Even though there are 15 declared and potential candidates in the campaign, many political and political women have already declared Gore and Bush to be the only candidates with a chance to win the White House.

Both men immediately tried to make out the broad middle ground of American politics. Gore said he would campaign to "take my own values of faith and family to the presidency." Bush attempted to broaden the appeal of the Republican party, promising he would be a "compassionate conservative" who would also place family values at the center of his presidency. There was no doubting when all the family talk was about. Thanks to his 66 years among with President Bill Clinton, Gore will enter the campaign carrying the baggage of the Monica Lewinsky scandal. The Vice-President tried to put a smile by once again declaring that "what the President did, especially in a private, was unacceptable." He also made numerous



Bush, the Gore (Gore) family members



appearances with his demonstratively living wife, Tipper, at his side. The lasting effect of Clinton's indiscretions on Gore's campaign is difficult to measure, but polls say he gives Bush a clear lead over his rival. Other candidates, though, say they are confident Gore and Bush will stumble. "The political battlefield is littered with the bodies of front-runners," said a spokesman for Republican Elizabeth Dole's campaign.

Radical arrest

Tips from activist on viewers watching *Animal Planet* led the FBI to an alleged former member of the Symbionese Liberation Army, a radical group that kidnapped newspaper heiress Patricia Hearst 23 years ago. The FBI says that Sara Jane Olson, 32, a doctor's wife and mother of three, resided in St. Paul, Minn., is actually Kathleen Ann Sells, who is wanted in connection

with a plot to blow up two police officers in Los Angeles in 1976. She eluded capture, officials say, and created a quiet second life as a mother and community volunteer. She even appeared in local news productions, but escaped detection until the TV show learned her, authorities say. If correct, the facts possible life in prison, his analysis say she could receive a light sentence because of her apparently exemplary new life.



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Europe shuns tainted Coke

Coca-Cola executives tried to calm the fears of European consumers after about 200 people in Belgium and France complained of vomiting and diarrhea after drinking the company's soft drinks. Belgian health authorities became the first to order Coca-Cola products off store shelves after 31 teenagers who drank bottled Coke became ill-sickened and several were sent to hospital. Firms also banned some of the company's bottled Cokes, the world's biggest soft-drink firm, insisted there was no toxic contamination, though it did say its plants in Antwerp used water-treated carbon dioxide to carbonate soft drinks, producing no acid taste. As well, a fluoride applied to crates carried some drink cans in the French port city of Dunkirk, near the Belgian border, creating an "offensive odour."



Empty bottles in Brussels: a blunder for

The health scare and product ban spread to Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland and Germany, all of which took the precaution of withdrawing Coke products made in either Antwerp or Dunkirk. By week's end, Belgian health authorities said their ban on some brands, including Novus and Minute Mild, but still refused to allow Coke, Fanta and Sprite to be sold. The European product recall was the largest Coca-Cola's 115-year history.

Unravelling a \$6.4-billion deal

When New Jersey-based CIT Group announced in March that it was buying Newsworld Credit Group for \$6.4 billion, the deal had raised eyebrows about whether the Toronto-based finance company's attempt to dominate the north-east lending market were too audacious. But last week, the two sides announced that the deal is being renegotiated following Newsworld's poor first-quarter results. Shares of Newsworld plunged to a low of \$20.05 on the Toronto Stock Exchange, after trading as high as \$79 last summer.

Financial outlook

After hitting new heights in April, many bottom market stocks on the Nasdaq composite index had been dropping steadily amid fears of rising inflation.



Analysts say, however, that the stock market's recent rally is a sign that the U.S. economy is strong and the consumer price index for May was flat, which eased inflation worries. In April, the CPI had its biggest gain in nine years. With those facts aligned for the moment, the tech-heavy Nasdaq surged 133.16 points to its highest single-day rise. "A lot of money that was sitting on the sidelines was put into the market, with inflation basically not showing up," said Todd Kapala of Charles Schwab Canada.

Eaton's sinks deeper

T. Eaton Co. Ltd. reported a first-quarter loss of \$35.7 million, adding substantially to its \$72-million shortfall for all of 1996. In the past two years, the retail loan has cut 1,990 jobs and announced the closing of 25 stores. Reports have suggested that Cincinnati's Bookend Department Stores Inc., Hudson's Bay Co. and Sears Canada want to buy some of the embattled chain's assets.

Selling parts of the Sun

Quebecor Inc. sold 30 per cent of Sun Media Corp. to the Ontario Municipal Employees Retirement Board, Royal Bank Equity Partners Ltd., and a subsidiary of the Glaxo du diptych in placement du Quebec. The \$260-million deal will allow Quebecor to pay down its debt, some of which was incurred in January, when the publishing giant paid about \$1 billion for Sun Media.

A haute Web site

In a marriage of high-tech savvy and old-world upper crust, virtual bookshop Amazon.com agreed to invest \$66 million in Sotheby's, the auction house founded in 1794. Together the partners intend to auction top-notch antiques and other collectibles in a Web site called sothebys.com. A sale of new baseball cards will kick off the venture later this year.

Flying low

Bombardier Aerospace last week twice lost weight to achieve Embraer of Brazil. First, Embraer announced the \$7.3-billion sale of 200 jets to Swiss airline Crossair—the biggest-ever regional jet deal. Then Embraer inked a \$356-million deal in Bombardier's backyard, selling an regional jet to local Canadian Airlines. Other airlines, like Bombardier, operate out of Montreal's Dorval Airport.

Stronach's gaffe

Talking to journalists, Frank Stronach, chairman of soccer-punk game Mega International Inc., and he knew nothing of reports that his firm is negotiating with General Motors Corp. to assemble cars in Canada. Minutes later, while giving Prime Minister Jean Charest a tour of a Mega plant near Vienna, Stronach was caught by a TV microphone whispering otherwise: Stronach said to Charest: "With talking to GM about it."

Dance

A defector still true to his art

Clad in a billowing pale gold skirt and tight black jacket, Mikhail Baryshnikov is walking around the empty floor stage of Toronto's Elgin Theatre. Not leaping and pirouetting as he did 20 years ago when he was the reigning crown prince of ballet, but as a dancer who had come out of Russia. His walking—with an odd, undulating movement, accused of the dancing across patterns of Japanese drums and fans.

The number of the capacity audience which mostly perhaps some of them are hoping to see a flash of the former ballerina in the 51-year-old dancer. And in a way they do, for although it is now a double since Baryshnikov switched from ballet to modern dance, he still maintains the same God-given gift that lifted him above his contemporaries: a thrilling, easy grace that infuses his every movement with significance. Baryshnikov was in Toronto last week with his U.S.-based modern dance troupe, The White Oak Dance Project, to mark the 25th anniversary of his defection from the Soviet Union. That 1975 event involved many Canadian connections. For it was after a performance with his fellow Soviet ballet artists in Toronto's O'Keefe Centre (now the Hornbush Centre) that the 26-year-old dancer fled to a car



forced by war and persecution to flee their homes. Records from the dance's Toronto shows will help launch the fund.

Later, Baryshnikov fired a battery of questions who asked him what he could remember about his defection. "Not much," he playfully said, "I was pretty drunk." Later, he moved this "driving was Toronto today, certain moments were through my mind." But then he flashed his mischievous smile and added "I keep those moments to myself." He was more forthcoming on the subject of contemporary dance, which he compared favourably to classical ballet in "less in-

terested, more democratic, more transparent, more polemical and, from my point of view, closer to the hearts of people today." And he admitted "This is pretty much the end of my career. As a certain age you realize you're stepping slowly downhill."

In detail, look like it, though, as Baryshnikov danced in choreographer Mark Morris's *The Agonyist*, the conclusion of the Elgin show.

The dancer is always a

drinking stage presence

The sole male in the company, Baryshnikov accompanied three female dancers with the dagger splendor of Fred Astaire as times he seemed on the verge of tap-dancing. These could be no doubt that Baryshnikov was the main attraction of the evening. On the whole, the coddy pretty style of dancing favoured by his company was rarely more than coddy pleasing. But whenever Baryshnikov was onstage (about half the time) the atmosphere soared. In the end, many audience members stood to applaud—but they seemed less moved by the dances than determined to keep their date with time.

John Benbow





Disunited alternatives

Several years back, at a Rideau Hall banquet honoring the retiring Pierre Clark, the seconds-to-winning who talks to flowers fazed himself sword opposite Joe Clark at the dining table.

Obviously well-briefed by Joe Blenkins, Charles leered across and said, "Mr. Clark, could I ask you one thing? What's wrong with 66.9 per cent? Numbers are everything, as we know, in politics, and the prime knew his numbers. He was referring to one of the great mysteries in Canadian political folklore. How poor Joe, with his famous bad judgment, asked for a vote of confidence at the 1985

Conservative convention in Winnipeg and—receiving 66.9 per cent support from delegates—decided within minutes that this was not self-defense. And so called for a backstop convention and so was saved by the lurking Brian Mulroney, who could not believe his good luck. (Actually he could, because he always knew Joe had bad judgment. A pained Charles obviously agreed.)

And so here we are back in the members game, Joe having rolled the rock back from his grave and emerged from the dead. His corpse has as much chance of surviving politically as does that of Piuson Manning, who has just been underwhelmed by the members of his flock who have yowled rather than leap aboard his latest creation, the United Alternative.

In the great struggle to authorize the dreadful Gern, only 19,617 bodies in a Reform party referendum and they would back Manning's idea of a Unite-the-Right suggestion that would sweep J. Chretien and E. Martin, not to mention S. Cripps, into the Rideau Canal.

This is a country, by the way, of 30 million people. Only 32,095 Reformers in all—of a party that six years ago had 150,000 members—could bother to stand in their ballots. They didn't even have to drive to a polling booth; all they had to do was take a stamp. Apparently the effort was too much on a day when, I guess, they were washing their hair instead. Or beelieing, whatever.

That tiny clutch of 19,000 was enough to give Manning 60.5 per cent approval, which is, in other words, like losing your seat. The six big gods of the United Alternative ballroom, and everyone in Canada except Manning and Clark knew it, Manning is misguided in Clark about his chances of acquiring power.

If it's not a pretty sight, Piuson Manning and Jurassic Clark

at the table upon which we are going to build our church. They can't even seem to find each other's phone numbers, and the lady in the PMO shrugs and holds their ribs in gloze at the confusion out there.

Manning can't cross his personal Redcoats, that being the Manitoba-Ontario border. The most deadly truth is that a recent poll showed that 58 per cent of people in Ontario had never heard of the United Alternative.

With his hair/eye/voice/ear/ear/ear, he couldn't fly, never could, never will, in Ontario, which owns some one-third of all the seats in the House of Commons. Most people of common sense can see that if a Reform party wants to morph itself into another identity, there must be something wrong with the leadership of the corpse left behind, and therefore there should be new leadership.

Manning is baring against himself, like a one-armed pincer, stuck by a flock of bees. His pride and snobishness would concede that if he has a new idea, better than the last one he had, it needs a fresh and new genius at its head.

That would be, naturally, Alberta Treasurer Stockwell Day, who is Hollywood-kindergarten, willing, very smart and who, naturally, says he has no interest whatsoever in the United Alternative leadership

because he so loves Alberta and blah-blah. Therefore, that means not until the second round when Manning steps down.

Joe Wins, on the other hand, because of his pride and snobishness, persists in his belief in reincarnation, something that Harry Houdini could not achieve, not to mention MacKenzie King's mother and dog.

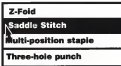
It is strange (if not natural) that the obvious logic of using the right end of the political spectrum, so as to rid the land of the scraggly Liberal grip, is being stalled by two guys from one province—Alberta—who have been fast since university and who are both so fervently anti-Liberal but are both prisoners of their own egos.

What the two of them don't know—or won't admit—is that Canadian voters are bored with their incessant little bundle of muscle. When pride prevents a phone-call connection, ordinary folks bailing with a mortgage and getting the kids through university simply run off and ask the adults in politics to grow up.

It's not brain surgery. Voters will simply wait for the next election and figure it out for themselves.



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